TEXT AND SUB-TEXT IN T. S. ELIOT : A GENERAL STUDY OF HIS PRACTICE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT THROUGH SUCCESSIVE DRAFTS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL CLERK

A. F. M. Abdul Barr

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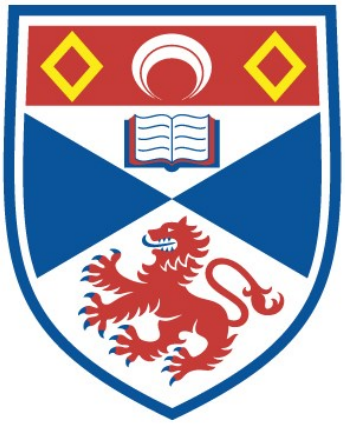

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Text and Sub-text in T.S. Eliot : A General Study of his Practice with Special Reference to the Origins and Development through Successive Drafts of *The Confidential Clerk*

by

A.F.M. Abdul Barr

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

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I have carried out research in the plays of T.S. Eliot, in the Department of English, University of St. Andrews, under the supervision of Professor Peter Bayley. I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance General No. 12 in October 1977, and as a candidate for the degree of Ph. D. in May 1978.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores Eliot's allusive method, that is his use of Judaeo-Christianity with its analogues (and sometimes sources) in pre-Biblical primitive myths and legends . The first chapters study The Confidential Clerk and the draft material of the play which contains overt allusions - subsequently expurgated - to Sargon and Dionysos as pre-Biblical archetypes of Moses and Christ respectively. I discuss the growth and development of the two legends of Sargon and Dionysos and their Biblical counterparts through successive drafts of the play. In adapting the Sargon-Moses legend, Eliot was influenced by Sigmund Freud and Sir James George Frazer who both believed that the legend of Moses's birth and early life closely resembles that of his Babylonian predecessor, Sargon of Accad, which the Hebrews imitated. In adapting, on another level of the play, the Dionysos-Christ legend, Eliot was in debt to Frazer and John M.Robertson who have persuasively shown the shaping influence of Dionysos and the Dionysiac religion upon the Founder of Christianity and the Christian system .

I have used the same approach in studying the other plays of Eliot. The same pattern,ie.,the adaptation of a pre-Biblical legend which has its counterpart in the Bible is to be found in The Family Reunion in which Eliot drew upon the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh from which he adapted the pre-Biblical legend of the Fall and the deluge story. For the minutiae of these legends in the epic of Gilgamesh and their Old Testament parallels Eliot is indebted to Alfred Loisy, the French Modernist theologian who explains the Genesis in terms of Babylonian mythology. In writing The Cocktail Party,

Eliot went to The Golden Ass of Apuleius, an anti- Christian work, from which he transformed the pre- Biblical legend of Isis, the forerunner of the Virgin Mary, as well as other motifs. Finally The Elder Statesman, Eliot's last play, adapts the pre-Biblical legend of Ahriman, an archetype of the Biblical story of Satan and the concept of evil in the Old Testament. But I have not included this play in my thesis, although I have investigated it, because of limitations of length, and also because the connection of text and sub-text in The Elder Statesman is less significant than that in the other plays.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research for this thesis was undertaken with the assistance of King's College Library, Cambridge, where the draft material of The Confidential Clerk is part of the Hayward Bequest, and the St. Andrews University Library. To the Librarian and his staff in both Libraries I express my obligation for their invaluable assistance which I very much appreciate. To Mrs. Eliot I am grateful for allowing me to quote from the unpublished typescripts in the Hayward Bequest. I must also acknowledge the invaluable support, advice and encouragement of my supervisors, Professor Peter Bayley and at an early stage Mr. A.H. Ashe.

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PREFACE

Throughout this study I have made use of the draft material of The Confidential Clerk which is part of the T.S. Eliot Collection in the Hayward Bequest, King's College, Cambridge, a full description of which is given in the Appendix. The most frequently mentioned draft is Ur-Clerk which is the earliest typescript in the draft material of the play. It is sometimes referred to throughout the discussion as the original version. The class number (D9) which is often cited in the notes refers to the volume in the Hayward Bequest which bears that number and contains the following items: "First Draft", "Second Rough", "Second Draft", "Third Rough", "Third Draft", and the "Final Text". I have made use so far as the printed word of Eliot's poems and plays is concerned, of The Complete Poems and Plays of T.S. Eliot (Valerie Eliot edition, 1969), Faber & Faber Ltd., London, 1975.

I make no claim that the material I have uncovered is necessary for an audience's understanding or enjoyment.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Thomas Stearns Eliot (1888-1965) was born to a St. Louis family whose religion was Unitarianism. In his comment on his upbringing in the religious atmosphere of Unitarianism, Eliot writes:

> I was brought up outside the Christian Fold, in Unitarianism; and in the form of Unitarianism in which I was instructed, things were either black or white. The Son and the Holy Ghost were not believed in certainly.[1]

That Unitarianism encourages its believer to hold liberal views and heresies is explained by Eliot: it had its "comfortable nineteenth-century liberalism".[2] Hence Unitarianism, according toEliot, is the religion of scepticism which, as he seems to say, made a sceptic of him: religious scepticism is "a product, or a cause, or a concomitant of Unitarianism".[3] To be a sceptic is, according to Denis Diderot, to question all that one believes, and therefore the sceptic believes only what a legitimate use of his reason has proved to him to be true.[4] Eliot, therefore, must have been, from the religious point of view, a sceptic[5] who never believed even in Unitarianism. For scepticism, he admits, "ends in denial".[6] In brief, Eliot, in his early life, was seized by the demon of doubt and unbelief which, as he once explained, he "could never even hope to be quite rid of".[7] This scepticism signifies nothing but unbelief and atheism.

Eliot, in his early life, showed signs of atheism or unbelief which he bluntly admitted: "I suppose when I was fourteen I was an Atheist, but I was wise enough to keep it to myself."[8] At this age, Eliot confesses that he, under the

inspiration of Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam, wrote a number of very gloomy and atheistical quatrains in the same style, which he suppressed completely.[9] He must have destroyed them probably at the instigation of his mother who was religious.[10]

Eliot's early preoccupation with atheistic philosophers and dissident thinkers confirms what we have just said concerning his unbelief. In 1916, he showed great interest in the Italian unfrocked monk Giordano Bruno, burnt at the stake in 1600, for his repudiation of Christianity and the Church in favour of the ancient Egyptian and Greek religion.[11] In 1927, the year when he was converted into Anglo-Catholicism, Eliot anonymously reviewed The Oldest Biography of Spinoza.[12] Spinoza, an implacable Jewish atheist came to Holland from Portugal, and there he freely produced atheistical works.[13]

Eliot's attachment to Bertrand Russell is also indicative of his religious scepticism and atheistic learnings. Eliot first knew Russell when the latter came to Harvard in 1914 as a visiting professor while Eliot was a graduate student.[14] This first meeting between Russell and Eliot was the beginning of a friendship which lasted for a long time, especially after Eliot became a British subject in November 1927. It is difficult to explain Eliot's relationship with Russell who overtly but shamelessly declared his "gospel of happiness", free love and hedonism. In Why I Am Not a Christian, a book which Eliot read,[15] Russell dismisses all religions as untrue and harmful.[16] He considers religion "a disease born of fear and a source of untold misery to the human race".[17] A religion, he adds is "a dragon" which represents an obstacle in the way of our having a rational education, or establishing the ethic of scientific

co-operation in place of the old fierce doctrines of sin and punishment.[18]

Sigmund Freud, too, is one of the atheistic authors for whose works Eliot showed great enthusiasm, so far as the religious thought of the Austrian Psycho-analyst is concerned. Eliot read Freud in 1928, when he reviewed The Future of an Illusion,[19] in which religions are dismissed as illusive. Freud's denial of Judaeo-Christianity as divinely inspired culminates in his Moses and Monotheism (1937). In this book, Freud, who was of Jewish origin, argues that the story of the birth and early life of Moses is imitative of those of Sargon of Accad, the first Semitic monarch who reigned over Babylonia about 3750 B.C. For Freud, the religion of monotheism which Moses imposed upon his contemporary Egyptian Jews derives from the religion of Pharaoh Ikhnaton (c. 1375 B.C.) which is the first case in the history of mankind, and perhaps the purest, of a monotheistic religion. To Freud's theory of Moses, Eliot, I have shown in Chapter II, is partly indebted with respect to the adaptation of the Sargon legend in The Confidential Clerk. I say "partly" because there are other writers, especially James George Frazer, upon whose works Eliot drew when he transformed the legend.

Eliot's profound interest in liberal thought and atheistic philosophy urged him to turn to France. In the spring of 1910, after a year of graduate study at Harvard, Eliot decided to spend a year of study in France. His stay in Paris was an immensely enjoyable experience. He attended the lectures of Henri Bergson, who did not believe in Original Sin and other Christian doctrines.[20] He read Alfred Loisy, the modernist

theologian who was excommunicated for his anti-Christian beliefs. For Loisy, Christ is a legendary figure and the Bible reflects traces of pre-Biblical primitive myths, and its characters are legendary figures who have archetypes in the ancient religious literature of the neighbouring countries of the Israelites.

Eliot, too, first read Charles Maurras in 1911, and his enthusiasm for him and his paper, the anti-clerical, L'Action Française never weakened. Maurras, a non-believer, tried to persaude his acquaintances also to disbelieve in Christ. For him the Catholic Church was an embodiment of hierarchical tradition, had no theological content, and was chiefly a cultural institution.[21] It has been suggested that Eliot's tripartite description in 1928 of his own conversion: "classicist in literature, royalist in politics, and anglo-Catholic in religion",[22] derives from a similar description by Maurras. In 1913, an editorial note in the Nouvelle Revue Française to which Eliot was a subscriber had described Maurras' three traditions as "classique, catholique, et monarchique".[23]

As one further indication of Eliot's deep concern with French philosophers of anti-Christian bent is his interest in the philosophy of Denis Diderot.[24] Diderot's aim in bringing to light the "Encyclopedie ou Dictionaire raisonné de sciences, des arts et des métiers", Paris 1751-80, was to ridicule certain widespread prejudices "which meant so far as religion was concerned, the undermining of Christianity and its replacement by a new faith in natural morality which would establish bonds of mutual esteem and tolerance".[25] Apart from Diderot, Eliot was familiar with the thought and works of Montaigne, Voltaire,

Renan and Anatole France whom he describes as sceptics.[26]

* * *

That Eliot had from the very beginning atheistic leanings, and was at heart a religious sceptic is evidenced not only from his concern with agnostic philosophers and free-thinkers, but also from the note of unbelief which pervades his early poetry. Eliot was accused, in his early career as a poet, of having written poetry which conveys nothing but unbelief and nihilism. The judgment which I.A. Richards, Eliot's critical friend, passed on The Waste Land is well-known. For Richards, the poem effects

> a complete severance between poetry and all beliefs, and this without any weakening of the poetry; he has realized what might otherwise have remained largely a speculative possibility, and has shown the way to the only solution of these difficulties. 'In the destructive element immerse. That was the way.'[27]

For Stephen Spender, who notes Richards' drawing upon Conrad concerning the last two sentences, Eliot, like Henry James, Lawrence, Yeats and Pound, was immensely conscious of the destructive element, and of a void in the present by which they were all faced.[28]

Eliot appears to have agreed with Richards' view that The Waste Land effects "a complete severance between poetry and all beliefs". He, however, in an attempt to defend himself against such an accusation attributes Richards' criticism of his poem to the present condition of unbelief which characterizes the

modern situation. Thus in 1933, Eliot responded to Richards' criticism:

> When Mr. Richards asserts that The Waste Land effects 'a complete severance between poetry and all beliefs' I am no better qualified to say No than is any other reader. The statement ... might mean that the present situation is radically different from any in which poetry has been produced in the past; namely that now there is nothing in which to believe, that Belief itself is dead; and that therefore my poem is the first to respond properly to the modern situation and not call upon Make-Believe.[29]

A few years later, in 1945, Eliot reiterated nearly the same view with respect to the deplorable state of unbelief which is the cause of the trouble of the modern age. According to him, people are no longer able to believe certain things about God and man which their forefathers believed.[30]

Just as Richards and Spender have noted the "destructive element" in Eliot's The Waste Land, Van Wyck Brooks accused Eliot of being "a destroyer of tradition".[31] Similarly, John Middleton Murry saw in Eliot's work "a symptom of the breakdown of civilization, an expression of the sterility and loss of meaning in modern life".[32] George Orwell considered him a person who "does not really feel his faith, but merely assents to it for complex reasons".[33] So, many critics easily follow in the footsteps of Richards, accusing Eliot of being a nihilist who, in his poetry, has done away with the Judaeo-Christian beliefs and traditions. These critics, including Richards himself, seem to have gone too far when they attach such a

general accusation to Eliot. It is true that Eliot does not believe in the Judaeo-Christian traditions, and this is regrettably the negative side of Eliot's poetry and drama. However, what these critics seem to have inadvertently ignored is Eliot's belief in the reinterpretation of Judaeo-Christianity in the light of the pre-Biblical pagan myths and legends. In other words, Eliot rejects the Judaeo-Christian beliefs in favour of the primitive pre-Biblical ones which inspired the Scriptures. This can be deduced not only from Eliot's casual remark respecting the influence of the pre-Biblical pagan religions upon Judaeo-Christian traditions,[34] but from The Waste Land, the first poem which contains allusions to this effect.[35] Eliot, it should be noted, admitted in the notes to the poem[36] that Jessie L. Weston's From Ritual to Romance (1920), and J.G. Frazer's two volumes Adonis Attis Osiris (1914) had strong bearing upon the shaping of The Waste Land. These two works reveal that the Christian beliefs can be traced as far back as the primitive rituals of vegetations and the fertility gods.

* * *

One might think that Eliot actually adopted Anglo-Catholicism after his conversion, and therefore he became a devout Christian in word and deed. However, this is not the case as is shown from our following discussion.

On 29 June, 1927, Eliot at the age of thirty-nine surprised his friends and acquaintances by his conversion into the Church of England, and had himself baptized by W.F. Stead, an American

who was then the Chaplain of Worcester College, Oxford. It is difficult to establish the real motive which induced Eliot to undertake such a step. We cannot take for granted the ostensible reason he gave at that time: that his conversion to Anglo-Catholicism was a recoil from Bertrand Russell's agnosticism.[37] Russell, it should be remarked, accommodated the Eliots, gratis, with him in his London flat, and he, at that time a notorious exponent of 'free-love', had a brief affair with his friend's wife.[38]

Whatever the reason for his conversion, Eliot was never a devout Anglican at heart, nor acquired a serene religious life. He once confided to a friend of his, Robert Sencourt, that he had never been "a practising Anglican".[39] Sencourt, in an attempt to help Eliot, introduced him to Lord Halifax, who was then the head of the Church [of England] Union. In spite of the forms of practical worship which Eliot joined Lord Halifax in in Hickleton Church, the former confessed to Sencourt that he is unable to make "the formal adherence to his new belief".[40] That Eliot seems to have played the role of double-dealer who did not take his conversion seriously may be explained by his denial of it in a private conversation with some American Unitarians. Having been asked by them why he left their persuasion for the Anglo-Catholic Church, Eliot replied that he had done nothing of the kind.[41] Despite Eliot's conversion and his new life as the Vicar's warden at St. Stephen's Church, Kensington, London for several years, "his religion had not brought his life to a thoroughly peaceful integration".[42]

The discrepancy between Eliot, the Anglican and Eliot, the non-Christian, or we might say, the anti-Christian is explicit

in his prose and poetic works respectively. This clearly indicates the double-faced role Eliot dexterously but dishonestly played for more than half a century.[43] While his prose is propagandistic of Christian dogma,[44] his poetry enshrouds diatribes against this religion. Eliot admitted this inconsistency. In response to Paul Elmer More's criticism of Eliot in respect of this anomaly, the latter wrote:

> My friend Dr. Paul Elmer More is not the first critic to call attention to an apparent incoherence between my verse and my critical prose - though he is the first whose perplexity on this account has caused me any distaste. It would appear that while I maintain the most correct opinions in my criticism, I do nothing but violate them in my verse; and thus appear in a double, if not double-faced role. I feel no shame in this matter ... I should say that in one's prose, reflexions may be legitimately occupied with ideals, whereas in the writing of verse one can only deal with actuality.[45]

Indeed, Eliot, the poet who cannot put into practice the Judaeo-Christian doctrines about which he theorizes in his prose seizes the opportunity in order to express in his poems and plays his actual beliefs in a Judaeo-Christianity which has its roots in a further culture, i.e. in pre-Biblical pagan myths and legends. In this respect, Elizabeth Drew's opinion is worth mentioning for it is relevant to our point, though she gives it only in connection with Eliot's poetry rather than drama: 'While Eliot maintains that heresy is diabolic, and Catholic theology immutable, Eliot the poet maintains the symbolic approach which gives new meaning to old truths. Its centre is the

Christianity which accepts its roots in cultures much older than itself, and recognizes itself "not only in Dante and St. John of the Cross, but in age-old 'pagan' myths of the vitality of water, of fire, of earth, and age-old concepts of the communion and relatedness of the worlds of sense and spirit".[46] Elizabeth Drew is right when she says that the Christianity which is the basis of the symbolic approach in Eliot's poetry has its origins in much older forms of pagan cultures than itself. However her intimation that this type of Christianity recognizes itself in Dante and St. John of the Cross is hardly tenable and needs qualification. That Eliot condemned St. John of the Cross and other devout Christian thinkers as nihilists of civilization is evidenced by his unpublished Clark lectures, delivered in 1926 at Trinity College, Cambridge in which he traces the course of metaphysical poetry from the time of Dante to the present time. The "pathological condition", as a consequence of romanticism, Eliot complains, was as evident in John Donne, St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross as it became later. These three, he describes, as "voluptuaries of religion, recklessly playing [their] part ... in the destruction of civilization", for they are all as much romanticists as Rousseau.[47] In view of this, Eliot would not accept the form of Christianity which recognizes itself in St. John of the Cross and his fellow Christian writers, whose religious writings are "pathological". He would accept only the Christianity which descends from a primitive culture, which according to him, "should be part of our heritage".[48]

To give but a few examples of how Eliot violates in his poetry the Christian beliefs which he asserts in his prose:[49]

Eliot, in his prose, sometimes defends the Christian faith. For instance, he wrote in 1928: "For us, religion is Christianity; and Christianity implies, I think, the conception of the Church."[50] In 1917, before his conversion, Eliot disparaged the Church in his poem "The Hippopotamus". In it, the hippopotamus which stands for sensual man is saved, while the church is not. One might rightly remark that this poem precedes Eliot's conversion, and therefore his depreciation of the Church does not represent Eliot, the Anglican. Eliot, however, in some of the poems he wrote after his conversion does not openly ridicule the Christian faith, but he explicitly shows that this faith descends from a more primitive religion which shaped it. In Ash Wednesday (1930), for example, which is supposed to be an embodiment of the Orthodox Christian faith of its converted author, Eliot treats the Virgin Mary in relation to her classical forerunners, especially the Egyptian Isis, the Mother of Horus, the Egyptian pre-Biblical counterpart of Jesus by Osiris the Almighty God. In other words, the poem evokes the suggestion that the legend of the Virgin Mary can be traced as far back as the legend of Isis.[52]

So far, we have seen that Eliot has shown an early pre-occupation with agnostic writers and atheistic free-thinkers, a preoccupation which is indicative of his atheistic leanings and unorthodox thought. He was attracted to the free-thinking elite of France and Britain who profoundly influenced him. It is not strange, therefore, that Eliot in his early poetry satirized Christianity, a tendency which conflicts with his seeming support of the Christian faith in his prose writing. In The Waste Land, Eliot embarks upon the method of allusiveness, i.e.

he refers the Christian system to its analogues in the pre-Biblical primitive myths and legends. It is a method which, on account of its being unintelligible to the ordinary reader, seems to have suited Eliot's purpose, i.e. to express his anti-Christian beliefs in an indirect way which does not involve him in the tangles of accusations.[53] This method Eliot used on a large scale in his plays, in each of which, as I have made clear, there is adapted a pre-Biblical legend which suggests a Biblical one. This is the object of my present study, an outline of which will be given after a brief discussion of Sir James George Frazer and his method of comparative religion which seems to have influenced Eliot in this connection.

* * *

Eliot, as a student at Harvard, showed burning desire for the archaeological discoveries and the anthropological study of primitive religion, both of which have shed light on the basic origins from which Judaeo-Christianity developed. In his unpublished paper "The Interpretation of Primitive Religion", delivered in a seminar on 9 December, 1913, under the direction of Josiah Royce, Eliot showed great respect and admiration for the effort made by both archaeologists and anthropologists respecting the study of religion:

> The progress of the study of religion in the last ten or twenty years, has not been simply one from error to truth. There has been progress in the statement of the problem.[54]

In the same paper, Eliot refers to Frazer's monumental work The

Golden Bough (1890-1915), which has impressed him with the vast learning and erudition of its author in respect of the interpretation of the modern religious beliefs in the light of the primitive religion.

> I have not the smallest competence to criticize Dr. Frazer's erudition, and his ability to manipulate this erudition one can only admire. But I cannot subscribe for instance to the interpretation with which he ends his volume on the Dying God.[55]

Indeed, in such a criticism, Eliot is expected to be reserved in regard of his admiration of Frazer's appended note to the Dying God in which he throws discredit on the Founder of Christianity. However, The Waste Land gives expression to this interpretation of Frazer by the frequent allusions to the similarities between Christ and the Vegetation-god of pre-Biblical primitive religion.

In 1922, Eliot, in an article in La Nouvelle Revue Française, wrote of the importance of The Golden Bough which, for him, exceeds that of the work of Sigmund Freud:

> Elle [l'oeuvre de Frazer] n'a pas moins d'importance pour notre époque que l'oeuvre complémentaire de Freud, car elle projette sa lumière sur les complexités de l'âme, d'un angle différent.[56]

This eminent anthropologist was a sceptic from top to toe as he doubted belief in the life hereafter, just as he did the existence of God:

> ... whether other men from a simple

> contemplation of their own nature, quite apart from reasoning, know or believe themselves intuitively to be immortal, I cannot say; but I can say with some confidence that for myself I have no such intuition whatever of my own immortality, and that if I am left to the resources of my natural faculties alone, I can as little affirm the certain or probable existence of my personality after death as I can affirm the certain or probable existence of a personal God.[57]

This is what we expect from the author of the works, according to whom modern religious beliefs have descended naturally from primitive ones. Hence it is no longer necessary to postulate any special supernatural 'revelation'.[58]

Like Frazer, Alfred Loisy denied the idea of a personal God and the immortality of the soul. Like Frazer, too, Loisy whom Eliot read, has shown in his works, especially Les mythes Babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Genèse (1901), and les mystères païens et le mystère chretien (1914) that Judaeo-Christian beliefs have descended from pre-Biblical myths and legends, and therefore they do not reflect any divine intervention.[59]

John M. Robertson, too, one of Eliot's intimate friends, explains fully the Christian system in the light of pagan myth, arguing that Christianity absorbed so many details from primitive beliefs.[60] As a prolific writer, Robertson devotes a large space to his persuasive discussion which brings him closer to Frazer and Loisy.

* * *

The method which Frazer, Loisy and Robertson adopt in their works is that of comparative religion. This method, Frazer tells us, enabled him to detect the rudimentary survivals from a far lower level of culture.[61] In other words, the employment of this method by Frazer, Loisy and Robertson resulted in the emergence of the conclusion that the Scriptures reflect traces of primitive myths and legends. This conclusion was willingly accepted by many a critic.[62] Will Herberg, whose work was known to Eliot,[63] explains that the Bible is a collection of myth, legend and folklore in which there is no room for divine intervention and prophetic inspiration:

> As to the Biblical writings themselves, they are ... interesting compilations of myth, legend and folklore, in which are embedded a number of high ethical teachings. They are a kind of primitive literature ... hardly to be taken seriously as God's word. After all we are reminded, has not Criticism shown that even the Pentateuch is a patchwork of documents from different times, sources and historical settings. In other words, a compilation made by men rather than a single whole dictated by God?[64]

James Woods, too, Eliot's tutor at Harvard holds a view, similar to that of John M. Robertson: that the Christian system has assimilated so much from all other beliefs that it surpasses any other religion in this connection: "the religion of Christ has absorbed within itself a richer deposit from all other beliefs than any other religion."[65]

George Santayana, a professor of Philosophy at Harvard when Eliot was a graduate student in his department, recommended the

adoption by the Church of the Graeco-Roman primitive beliefs. According to Bertrand Russell, Santayana believed only in what the Church has taken over from ancient Greece and Rome, but he disliked what the Church has taken over from the Jews, including of course whatever it owes to its Founder.[66]

Thus, man's wavering between Judaeo-Christian beliefs and paganism is the intellectual religious problem of the present time. It has been anticipated by Friedrich Nietzsche whose philosophical thought attracted Eliot's attention in 1916.[67] Nietzsche, the champion of the Classical Scriptures who confessed that he believed in Olympus, not in man on the cross,[68] admitted that,

> The life of modern man is passed in see-sawing between Christianity and Paganism, between a furtive or hypocritical approach to Christian morality, and an equally shy and spiritless dallying with the unique; and he does not thrive under it.[69]

In his Birth of Tragedy (1872),[70] Nietzsche explains why he prefers Dionysos to the man on the cross: In his view the covenant between man and man is established under the charming influence of Dionysos. Also the hostility and estrangement are abolished. Nature's reconciliation with her lost son, man, is achieved. Hence the yielding of gifts, such as milk and honey by nature, and the taming of wild beasts. By means of the Dionysiac art and music, each man feels himself united and reconciled with his neighbour.[71]

In the light of Nietzsche's preference for Dionysos rather than Christ, it is not strange that Eliot adapted in The

Confidential Clerk the legend of Dionysos in a way which suggests the supremacy of the Greek deity over the man on the cross. Eliot's preference for Dionysos arises from his whole-hearted belief that Christianity took over some details from the Eleusinian Mysteries whose initiates were devout worshippers of Dionysos and Demeter.[72] In an interview with Lawrence Durrell, published posthumously, Eliot agrees with Durrell's view that Christianity can be traced as far back as the Eleusinian Mysteries. Part of the interview is reported by Durrell in the following way:

> 'Though your writing betrays great intelligence', I once said, 'there is a mystery in it for me. How can an intelligent man be a Christian, much less a Catholic?' He gazed smilingly at me for a moment. I went on. 'After all, if you examine Christianity from the historical point of view, you come out somewhere among the Eleusinian Mysteries, no?' He sighed and agreed, still smiling. 'And then', I went on, warming to my task, 'how suspect your poems are littered with Buddhist references and snatches from Heraclitus and so on. I can't think how they let you into the Church?' Eliot put on a very sober expression and said: 'Perhaps they haven't found out about me yet.'[73]

We have no reason to question Durrell's report about Eliot in this matter of the Mystery religion of Paganism seen as the origins of Christianity. In 1948, Eliot said that Christian thought and practice, in its course of development, had been shaped by the primitive Graeco-Roman culture.[74] Earlier in 1928, he made it clear that the Egyptian Mystery Religion of Isis had strong bearing on the Christian system. In particular,

he says that the prayers to Isis, such as those by which Lucius, the hero of The Golden Ass of Apuleius has invoked Isis influenced the Litany of the Virgin Mary. For the religious world of Apuleius in the second century A.D. was "the world", urges Eliot, "in which Christianity and the Church were being incubated".[75]

From what we have seen in the last part of our discussion, Eliot was in close contact with the work of Frazer and other writers who have convincingly showed that by means of the comparative method, the Biblical traditions can be historically traced as far back as primitive myths and legends. Eliot was impressed by their studies, an impression which induced him to give poetic expression to the new-found results of anthropology in The Waste Land. In 1923, one year after the publication of The Waste Land, Eliot, in his review of James Joyce's Ulysses recommended the use in literature of the pagan myths of antiquity in a way which suggests that they are parallel to the modern beliefs, an 'auspicious' method for which Eliot extols Joyce.[76]

> In using the myth, in manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity, Mr. Joyce is pursuing a method which others must pursue after him. They will not be imitaters, any more than the scientist who uses the discoveries of an Einstein in pursuing his own, independent, further investigations ... It is a method for which the horoscope is auspicious. Psychology (such as it is, and whether our reaction to it be comic or serious) ethnology and The Golden Bough have concurred to make possible what was impossible even a few years ago. Instead of the

> narrative method, we may now use the mythical method. It is, I seriously believe, a step towards making the modern world possible for art.[77]

This "mythical method" which shows the continuous parallel between antiquity and contemporaneity, or between primitive myths and modern religious beliefs has its genesis, so far as Eliot is concerned, in The Waste Land, and it came to be used on a large scale, in his plays.

Any genuine approach, therefore, to Eliot's plays should take into consideration this "mythical method" which, as Eliot rightly notes, would never have been possible had The Golden Bough never came into light. In this respect, it seems to me that the bulk of criticism which has been produced on Eliot's plays falls short, for the critics are mainly concerned with the dramatic events on the surface action of these plays,[78] ignoring therefore the 'mythical method', together with the deeper level of the poetic drama.

To make the plan of my present work clearer, I have made original exploration in the field of Eliot's drama. My initial plan was to study the growth and development of The Confidential Clerk throughout the drafts which are in the John Hayward Collection, King's College, Cambridge.[79] Indeed, the examination of the draft material of the play enabled me, by means of overt allusions and conspicuous hints, subsequently suppressed, to find out about the two legends of Sargon-Moses and Dionysos-Christ which are adapted in the play. Each legend, as it is reworked in the play, suggests a continuous parallel between antiquity and contemporaneity, or between the primitive

religious beliefs and their modern counterparts. Also it suggests that the Biblical traditions are imitative of pre-Biblical primitive myths and legends. We can explain the simultaneous presence of the two levels: the pre-Biblical and the Biblical in the light of Eliot's theory of the "doubleness in the action", or the "under-pattern" which characterizes poetic drama:

> It is possible that what distinguishes poetic drama from prosaic drama is a kind of doubleness in the action, as if it took place on two planes at once ... In poetic drama, a certain apparent irrelevance may be the symptom of this doubleness, or the drama has an under-pattern, less manifest than the theatrical one.[80]

In short, on one level of The Confidential Clerk, I have discussed the growth and development of the Sargon legend, and its Hebraic version, the Moses legend. On another level of the play, I have dealt with the evolution throughout the drafts of the Dionysos legend and its Christian version.

I was encouraged to extend my original plan by including in my study The Family Reunion and The Cocktail Party. This time, I have dispensed with the draft material of these two plays partly because of their meagreness,[81] and partly because of the restrictions imposed on the excessive use of them by the literary executrix, Mrs. Eliot. My study of The Family Reunion and The Cocktail Party is therefore confined to the printed word. In the former play, I was able to find out that Eliot drew upon the Gilgamesh Epic and its Old Testament parallel with respect to the fall narrative of Adam and Eve and the

deluge. His preoccupation at that time with Milton's Paradise Lost, together with other factors, is behind his adaptation of the Gilgamesh Epic in which the Eabani-Ukhat legend poses as an archetype of the Biblical narrative of the fall of Adam and Eve. To Alfred Loisy, Eliot is indebted for the particulars of this Babylonian legend and its Biblical counterpart.

In dealing with The Cocktail Party I was confronted with the same pattern, i.e. the drawing by Eliot upon a pre-Biblical legend which has a Biblical parallel. In this play, it is the Isis legend whose heroine is the forerunner of the Virgin Mary, upon which Eliot drew, together with other motifs, in The Golden Ass of Apuleius. This work of Apuleius which Eliot reviewed is in effect an attack on Christianity. It is a work which clearly shows that the Christian system has absorbed a great deal from the Mystery religion of Isis and Osiris.

I have applied the same method to The Elder Statesman (1958), the last play of Eliot, and I found out that our author drew upon the pre-Biblical Persian legend of Ahriman which has its counterpart in the Biblical story of Satan and the concept of evil in the Old Testament. The motifs of the Persian legend and the possibility that they have influenced the Judaeo-Christian attitude to evil are the major concern of F. Max Müller (1823-1900), an Anglo-German philologist and orientalist whose interest in the ancient Eastern religion, especially the Persian religion, attracted the attention of Eliot.

I have attempted throughout my discussion to support my argument fully. However, were I to be reproached for going too far in the interpretation of certain details, I would like to recall in this connection Eliot's sagacious insight which would

protect me of any accusation, and might answer any objection:

> ... it occurs to me as possible that there may be an essential part of error in all interpretation, without which it would not be interpretation at all.[82]

NOTES

1. T.S. Eliot, The Criterion, X (July 1931), 771.

2. T.S. Eliot, The Criterion, V (January-June 1927), 256.

3. T.S. Eliot, "A Sceptical Patrician". The Athenaeum (23 May 1919), 361.

4. Denis Diderot's Early Philosophical Works, translated and edited by Margaret Jourdain, the Open Court Company, London, 1916, p. 45.

5. In Hugh Kenner's words, "The 1920's were full of elegant sceptics, and T.S. Eliot was one of their heroes" (The Invisible Poet T.S. Eliot, McDowell, Obolensky, New York, 1959, p. 275.

6. T.S. Eliot, "The 'Pensees' of Pascal" (1931), Selected Essays, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1976, p. 411.

7. Quoted in Bernard Bergonzi, T.S. Eliot, the Macmillan Co., New York, 1978, p. 113.

8. Quoted in Thomas Dozier, "Will the Real Mr. Eliot Please Stand up?", Month, 5 (October 1972), 312.

9. See Donald Hall, "An Interview with T.S. Eliot", in Writers at Work, The Paris Review Interviews, introduced by Van Wyck Brooks, Secker and Warburg, London, 1963, p. 80.

10. Eliot's mother, Charlotte Eliot, wrote religious poetry imbued with the fervour of God-intoxicated persons, such as the Apostles and the Saints, St. Barnabas and St. Theodosius. She wrote about religious reformers, such as Savonarola (see Lyndall Gordon, Eliot's Early Years, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978, pp. 4-5.

11. See Infra, p. 293.

12. This work is edited by A. Wolf and reviewed by Eliot in The Times Literary Supplement, 1316 (21 April 1927), 275. The review is unsigned, but attributed to Eliot by Donald Gallup, T.S. Eliot: A Bibliography, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1969, p. 215.

13. Examples of these works are his Theological-Political Treatise, published anonymously in 1670 under a false imprint, which aroused scandal and hostility because of its scepticism about religious doctrines. His Ethics, published posthumously, was condemned as atheistical and morally subversive.

14. Lyndall Gordon, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

15. See Eliot's review of this book in The Criterion, VI (August, 1927), 179.

16. B. Russell, Why I am Not a Christian and Other Essays, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1957, p. xi.

17. Russell, ibid., p. 18.

18. Russell, ibid., p. 37.

19. See The Criterion, VIII (December 1928), 350-53.

20. See Infra, p. 237

21. Adrian Cunningham, "Continuity and Coherence in Eliot's Religious Thought", Eliot in Perspective: A Symposium, edited by Graham Martin, Macmillan, London, 1970, pp. 219-220.

22. T.S. Eliot, For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order, Faber and Faber, London, 1970, p. 7.

23. See Bernard Bergonzi, op.cit., p. 115.

24. Eliot reviewed Denis Diderot's Early Philosophical Works (1916) in New Statesman, VIII, 206 (17 March 1917), 572-3.

25. Joseph Edmund Barker, Diderot's Treatment of the Christian Religion in the Encyclopedie, King's Crown Press, New York, 1941, p. 12.

26. T.S. Eliot, "The 'Pensees' of Pascal", Selected Essays, p. 410.

27. Quoted in E.K. Hay, T.S. Eliot's Negative Way, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 1982, p. 83.

28. Stephen Spender, The Destructive Element, Folcroft Library Edition, Pennsylvania, 1977, pp. 12-15.

29. T.S. Eliot, "The Modern Mind" (1933), The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1975, p. 130.

30. T.S. Eliot, "The Social Function of Poetry"(1945), On Poetry and Poets, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1969, p. 25. Compare also Eliot's remark on the present time as an age of uncertainty in which new science has bewildered man, "an age in which so little can be taken for granted as common beliefs" (T.S. Eliot, "The Frontiers of Criticism" in On Poetry and Poets, p. 114. See also Eliot's statement that science has done away with the belief in God (see Infra, p.236).

31. Quoted in Michael Grant, ed., T.S. Eliot, the Critical Heritage, I, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982, pp. 43-4.

32. Quoted in ibid., p. 24.

33. Quoted in Russell Kirk, Eliot and His Age, Random House, New York, 1971, p. 284.

34. See Infra, p. 130.

35. For the criticism which shows that Eliot's allusions in The Waste Land to primitive myths suggest their Christian parallels, see, e.g. Grover Smith, T.S. Eliot's Poetry and Plays, the University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1974, pp. 92-4.

36. T.S. Eliot, The Complete Poems and Plays, Faber and Faber, London, 1975, p. 76. Hereafter this work is cited as Poems and Plays.

37. See Caroline Behr, T.S. Eliot: A Chronology of his Life and Works, Macmillan Reference Books, London, 1983, p. 10.

38. Ibid.

39. Robert Sencourt, T.S. Eliot: A Memoir, edited by Donald Adamson, Garnstone Press Ltd., London, 1971, p. 103.

40. Ibid., p. 104.

41. Ibid., p. 110.

42. Ibid., p. 137.

43. Rebecca West's view of Eliot is that he "inflicted damage on our literature from which it will probably not recover for a generation" (Quoted in James Torrens, Charles Maurras and Eliot's "New Life" in PMLA, 89, 1974, 312, Col. 1.

44. A close scrutiny of some of Eliot's prose writings sometimes reveals the unorthodoxy of Eliot's views respecting Christianity, a detail which kathleen Nott has shown in her examination of Eliot's The Idea of a Christian Society (1939). Having remarked on how aware Eliot was of the weak position of Christianity in face of anthropological and psychological investigation, K. Nott suggests that Eliot's disbelief in Christianity may be inferred even from The Idea of a Christian Society, which is supposed to defend Christian faith. For her, the general picture which emerges from this work is lacking in the Christian virtues of faith and hope. "That is, he does not believe that his idea will be realised and he certainly gives no indication that anyone would be happier if it were." (Kathleen Nott, "Mr. Eliot's Liberal Worms", The Emperor's Clothes, William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1953, pp. 119-120, 127.)

45. T.S. Eliot, After Strange Gods. A Primer of Modern Heresy, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1934, p. 30.

46. E. Drew, T.S. Eliot, the Design of his Poetry, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1950, p. 249.

47. See E.K. Hay, op.cit., p. 99.

48. In 1939, Eliot wrote: "the recognition that even the most primitive feelings should be part of our heritage seems to me/

me to be the explanation and justification of D.H. Lawrence ... But we need not only to learn how to look at the world with the eyes of a Mexican Indian [like Lawrence] ... We need to know [that] the purpose of reascending to origins is that we should be able to return, with greater spiritual knowledge, to our own situation." (T.S. Eliot, The Idea of a Christian Society, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1939, p. 62.

49. Eric Gould, in his comment on this incoherence in Eliot, says that Eliot in his essay "Religion and Literature" (1935) makes his position as a believer in the supernatural quite clear, and from there he can safely argue in his essays for an unconscious Christian literature, because a conscious one is unnecessarily obvious, too clearly devotional or propagandistic. Then Gould wonders if we trust this to work for his poetry: "No", he answers, "for the split between Christian and poet ... constantly undergoes close scrutiny in the poetry" (Mythical Intentions in Modern Literature, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1981, p. 262.

50. T.S. Eliot, "The Humanism of Irving Babbit" (1928), Selected Essays, p. 480.

51. For further details, see Bradley Gunter, The Merril Guide to T.S. Eliot, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., Columbus, Ohio, 1970, p. 12. See also E.K. Hay, op.cit., p. 46. See also Stephen Spender, op.cit., p. 140.

52. See Infra, p. 313.

53. Cf. Eliot's view of D.H. Lawrence: Lawrence writes Eliot, is in the habit of "using the terminology of Christian faith to set forth some philosophy or religion which is fundamentally non-Christian or anti-Christian. It is a habit towards which Mr. Lawrence has inclined his two principal disciples, Mr. [J. Middleton] Murry himself and Mr. Aldous Huxley. (T.S. Eliot, The Criterion, X (October 1930-July 1931), 771.)

54. Quoted in Piers Gray, T.S. Eliot's Intellectual and Poetic Development, 1909-1922, Humanities Press, New Jersey, 1982, p. 119.

55. Quoted in Piers Gray, ibid., p. 130.

56. Quoted in J. Fabricius, The Unconscious and Mr. Eliot: A Study in Expressionism, Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, Copenhagen, 1967, p. 47.

57. J.G. Frazer, The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead, I, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 26.

58. For further discussion, see John Macquarrie, Twentieth Century Religious Thought, SCM Press Ltd., London, 1978, pp. 101-113.

59/

59. See Adrien Dansette, Religious History of Modern France, II, translated from the French by John Dingle, Nelson, Edinburgh-London, 1961, p. 302.

60. John M. Robertson, A Short History of Christianity, Watts & Co. Ltd., London, 1902, pp. 62-3.

61. J.G. Frazer, Folklore in the Old Testament, (abridged version), Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1923, pp. IX-X.

62. See, e.g. Northrop Frye. Having noted that it was in Blake's time that the foundations of comparative religion were laid, Frye writes: "The resemblance in form between so many pagan and Christian legends cuts both ways:it makes the Bible more poetic and the Classics more prophetic" (Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1974, pp. 156, 173.

63. Eliot refers us to Herberg's Judaism and Modern Man with respect to the idea that there can be culture without religion (T.S. Eliot, Notes towards the Definition of Culture, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1972, p. 70, n. 1).

64. Will Herberg, Judaism and Modern Man, Harper and Row, New York, 1965, pp. 245-6.

65. James Haughton Woods, Practice and Science of Religion, Longmans, Green & Co., London and Bombay, 1906, p. 123.

66. Bertrand Russell, "On Catholic and Protestant Sceptics" (1928) in Why I am Not a Christian, p. 87.

67. That is to say when Eliot reviewed A. Wolf's The Philosophy of Nietzsche (1915) in The International Journal of Ethics, XXVI.3 (April 1916), 426-7.

68. Quoted in A. Wolf, The Philosophy of Nietzsche, Constable & Co., London, 1915, p. 103.

69. A. Wolf, ibid., p. 100.

70. F.N. Lees notes the influence of Nietzsche's Birth of Tragedy on the shaping of a few phrases and sentences of The Waste Land (Notes and Queries, 209, (October 1964), 386).

71. Friedrich Nietzsche, The Birth of Tragedy, translated by W.H. Haussmann, T.N. Foulis, London, 1909, pp. 26-7.

72. In the Eleusinian Mysteries, Dionysos under the name Iacchos figures as the most prominent deity whom the initiates worshipped, together with Demeter and Persephone, in Attica. The Eleusinian Mysteries are believed to have arisen from an agrarian festival peculiar to certain families of Eleusis.

73. Lawrence Durrell, "The Other T.S. Eliot", The Atlantic Monthly, CCXV.5 (May 1965), 63, Col. 2.

74. See Infra, p. 130

75. See Infra, p. 284

76. Joyces' critics have shown in their interpretation of Ulysses the parallels and continuity between the primitive rites of Paganism and those of Christianity (see, e.g. John Vickery, The Literary Impact of The Golden Bough, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1973, pp. 383 ff.

77. T.S. Eliot, "Ulysses, Order and Myth", The Dial LXXV.5 (November 1923), 483.

78. See David E. Jones, The Plays of T.S. Eliot, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1960; Grover Smith, op.cit.; Carol H. Smith, T.S. Eliot's Dramatic Theory and Practice, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963.

79. For a descriptive analysis of these drafts, see the "Appendix".

80. T.S. Eliot, "John Marston" (1934), Selected Essays, p. 229.

81. The Confidential Clerk has nine versions in its draft material; not all of them contain the whole text, for some have act I only (see Appendix). The Family Reunion has two drafts in the John Hayward Collection; and one draft in the same collectin belongs to The Cocktail Party. The rest of the draft material of The Family Reunion and The Cocktail Party is in the possession of E. Martin Browne, the theatrical advisor of Eliot and the producer of his plays. For a list of these drafts, see E. Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, the University Press, Cambridge, 1969, pp. xiii-xiv.

82. T.S. Eliot's "Introduction" to G. Wilson Knight, The Wheel of Fire, Oxford University Press, London, 1930, p. xx.

CHAPTER 2

The Confidential Clerk: The Adaptation of the Sargon-Moses Legend I

Since the first production of The Confidential Clerk at the Edinburgh Festival in August 1953, critics have been discussing the play in terms of its disclosed source in the Ion of Euripides.[1] Eliot's play is indebted to the Ion of Euripides so far as the conflict of Sir Claude and Lady Elizabeth over Colby is concerned. In particular, the conflict of the Mulhammers over Colby is suggested by the conflict of Creusa and Xuthus over Ion. Apart from this detail, Eliot's play owes nothing to the Greek play, except that the story of Ion which belongs to the mythical type of the divine child seems to have suggested to Eliot's mind the two legends of Sargon and Dionysos, the archetypes of Moses and Christ respectively. In this respect, Eliot's remark that he has treated the Greek play as "a point of departure"[2] embodies a great deal of truth.

The adaptation in The Confidential Clerk of the Sargon and Dionysos legends in a way which suggests their Biblical counterparts Moses and Christ respectively exhibits the depth of meanings which the play enshrouds in its deeper levels. Hence Eliot's statement relating to the serious meaning conveyed in the underpattern of The Confidential Clerk, which he considers a comedy: "If you want to say something serious nowadays", Eliot says to the critic for the Christian Science Monitor in 1954, at the close of the Broadway production of The Confidential Clerk, "it's easier to say it in comedy than in tragedy. People take tragedy seriously on the surface. They take comedy lightly on the surface but seriously underneath."[3] Bonamy Dobrée's criticism of the play hits on the truth when he comments on the deeper levels of the meanings which lurk beneath the surface action of the play:

> Whether what he wants to say will penetrate to the majority of his audience is another question for it may be that he has made the bait so large that the fish can feed without swallowing the hook. To the

> attentive it goes without saying, there all the time exists another play at a deeper level than the obvious one, perhaps a third at a level deeper still.[4]

Martin Browne, Eliot's theatrical adviser who produced The Confidential Clerk, remarked, too, on the deeper level of the play: "This play conceals too effectively its deeper level, so that its audience tends to regard it as an enjoyably improbable fiction and never to become involved."[5] In short, although critics recognized the depth of meaning which the play camouflages, they never thought that the Greek original provided Eliot with a hint to a larger topic relating to Judeo-Christianity which he elaborated in his own way in the deeper levels of the play.

This hint is the story of Ion itself which must have been thought of by Eliot as his "point of departure". The story of Ion as told by Euripides embodies certain motifs which are similar to those in the legend of Sargon-Moses: Ion, like these heroes is reared in ignorance of his parents. In other words, the exposure and upbringing of Ion partly recall those of Sargon, Moses, and even Dionysos. In each case the mother of the hero figures as a person of a noble family who has illicitly given birth to him, and she, therefore, has to spirit him away. Just as Ion is the illegitimate son of Princess Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus, King of Athens,[6] so is Sargon's mother who, according to some versions, is a princess.[7] Moses' mother, too, according to the typical myth of divine hero which is adopted by Sigmund Freud,[8] is the Egyptian princess, the Pharaoh's daughter. Similarly, the mother of Dionysos is a princess, the daughter of King Kadmus.[9] The exposure of Ion after he was born,[10] is the other detail which Euripides' play has in common with the legends of Sargon, Moses and Dionysos. The only difference here is that whereas Ion is exposed in the same cave in which Apollo has ravished his mother, Sargon, Moses and Dionysos are exposed in the waters after they are born. In brief

Ion, like Sargon and Moses, can fit in the typical legend of the birth of the divine hero which is adopted by Sigmund Freud, who applies its motifs to Moses.[11] In view of this legend too, Ion recalls Sargon and Moses, as his first family who gave birth to him is aristocratic, while the second one which raised him [in Ion's case, the Pythian priestess] is humble. Like Sargon and Moses too, Ion's conception seems to have been preceded by the difficulty of the illicit sexual intercourse. Finally the rediscovery of his aristocratic parents who recognize him[12] is a further motif which Ion has in common with Sargon and Moses. Apart from the conformity of Ion to the typical legend of the divine hero adopted by Freud in respect of his treatise on Moses - a conformity which seems to have induced Eliot to draw upon the Sargon-Moses legend - Euripides's play incorporates a hint of the Moses legend. The reference is noted by J.M. Robertson, one of the contributors to The Criterion, with whose works Eliot was familiar: the two tablets on which Moses recorded the law. In this respect, Robertson observes: "In the twofold rocks of Dionysos mentioned by Euripides in the Ion (ll. 1126-7) lies the probable myth-basis of the two stone tablets on which Moses wrote the law on Sinai."[13]

Having shown the allusions in the Ion of Euripides which prompted the adaptation in The Confidential Clerk of the Sargon-Moses legend, we turn now to the discussion of the influences which induced Eliot to adapt the Sargon legend in a way which suggests that it is the origin of the Moses legend. But first a word or two about Eliot's anti-Semitism. When Eliot adapts the Sargon legend in a way which shows that the Israelite hero is modelled after the Babylonian Sargon, he seems to deny the Jews any degree of originality so far as their legends are concerned, believing thus in pre-Biblical myths rather than

the Biblical ones. No one can ignore Eliot's anti-Semitism which led him not only to discredit the Jewish Biblical tradition, but to attack openly the Jewish commercial culture which undermined the stability of the European tradition and antiquity. His diatribe on the Jews is explicit in his poem "Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar" (1920), where the emphasis is laid on the notion that Jewish materialism as represented by "money in fur" extirpated the tradition of an earlier, more organized society, as represented by "even feet".[14] One further example of Eliot's antagonistic attitude to the Jews is expressed in his After Strange Gods (1934), where he vituperates against the "free-thinking Jews" for the adulteration of homogenous culture.[15] In this respect, Eliot recalls Charles Maurras and Ezra Pound who both apparently influenced him so far as anti-Semitism is concerned. Maurras, many of whose beliefs Eliot acknowledged have shaped his,[16] was noted for his relentless attack on the Jews. According to him and the Action Française movement, the Jews annihilated the national tradition of France.[17] Ezra Pound, too, bitterly denounced not only the Jewish commercial culture but the Hebraic religion. In his views, the Old Testament and the Talmud are "a species of gangster's handbook in which he sees almost no spiritual elevation".[18]

Having seen Eliot's anti-Semitism which appears to have prompted him to sow the seeds of doubt in Jewish myths, we proceed now to attempt to resolve this question: How did the Moses legend as a transformation of that of Sargon suggest itself to Eliot's mind? We are not far from the truth if we recall that Eliot embarked on writing The Confidential Clerk in the closing months of 1951, i.e. after the establishment of Israel. Presumably, he was acquainted with scholarly accounts as to the modelling of the Moses legend of birth and life on that of Sargon. In this respect, the most influential opinion is that of Sir James George Frazer whose profound impact on Eliot should not be

minimized. In 1918, Frazer gave it out that the legend of the exposure of Sargon of Accad in the river has shaped that of Moses.[19] Sigmund Freud, too, must have influenced Eliot with respect to the view that the Moses legend is duplicated from that of Sargon, a view which he audaciously expressed in his Moses and Monotheism (1937).[20]

In addition to the influence of Frazer and Freud, Eliot adopted the beliefs of the French writer Simon Weil which concerned her attitude to the Jewish religion and the Old Testament. Despite her Jewish origin, S. Weil repudiated Judaism in favour of the Chaldaean and Egyptian religion which influenced the Old Testament. For her, the Old Testament is "an evil book".[21] She is entirely against the interpretation of the religious mission of the Jews: "Israel. All from Abraham on inclusively (except for a few prophets) is filthy and monstrous, as if on purpose. As if to point out with absolute clarity: Note well! here is evil: A people chosen for blindness."[22] That Eliot was interested in the religious view of S. Weil is evidenced by his discussion of them at a time when he was about to write The Confidential Clerk. In his preface to her Need for Roots (1952); a preface which he dated September 1951, Eliot wrote: "She [S. Weil] was intensely Jewish, suffering torments in the affliction of the Jews in Germany; yet she castigated Israel with all the severity of a Hebrew prophet."[23] More relevant to our point is Eliot's view of S. Weil's acceptance of only a few parts of the Old Testament in which "she discerned traces of Chaldaean and Egyptian influences",[24] denying Israel any divine revelation.[25] Such a view at a time when Eliot was about to start writing of what he called the "Ur-Clerk",[26] the original version of the play,[27] may have been one of the reasons which induced him to draw upon the Sargon legend which has inspired the Biblical narrative of Moses' birth, exposure and early life.

One more writer whose religious views appear to have swayed Eliot in respect of the adaptation of the Sargon-Moses legend is Alfred Loisy

(1857-1940), the French modernist theologian. Loisy, who seems to have also influenced Eliot respecting the adaptation in The Family Reunion of the pre-Biblical Babylonian fall and deluge myths,[28] has shown the close resemblance between what he calls "the fabulous materials" of the story of the birth and an early life of Moses with those of the legend of Sargon of Accad:

> ... The story of the child Moses exposed on the Nile, and saved as it were by miracle, may be rightly suspect; since it is constructed out of fabulous materials for which there are many other applications, from the legend of the old Chaldaean King Sargon to that of the child Jesus flying from the rage of cruel Herod.[29]

In tracing the Biblical narrative of Moses' exposure as far back as the Sargon legend, Loisy relies on the fact that the religion of Israel is very much posterior to the religion of Chaldaea upon whose mythological and pagan past it depended.[30]

In view of our discussion of the writers who influenced Eliot with respect to the modelling of the legend of Moses after that of Sargon, we may conclude with the following point: Eliot was so much impressed by their views that he adapted the Sargon legend in a way which shows his understanding of its relationship to the Moses legend. It is therefore our object in the following two chapters to discuss the adaptation of the Sargon-Moses legend, its growth and development throughout the drafts. The first chapter is devoted to the discussion of the adaptation of the Sargon legend, and the changes made through the drafts, changes which are indicative of the progress of the legend from one draft to another. The second chapter is a continuation of the first one, for it is concerned with the discussion of how the Moses legend is but a transformation of the Sargon legend. In either chapter, the changes made throughout the drafts shed light on Eliot's mind at work, and on his attitude towards the person whose legend he

has been adapting.

The legend of Sargon, the first Semitic monarch to reign over Babylonia about 3750 B.C.,[31] had been found carved on one of his statues in the royal library at Nineveh. In 1918, J.G. Frazer, who noted its affinity with the Moses story as told in Genesis 2:1-10,[32] reproduced it as follows:

> Sargon, the mighty King, the King of Agade, am I,
> My mother was lowly,[33] my father I knew not,
> And the brother of my father dwells in the mountain.
> My city is Azuripanu, which lies on the bank of the Eupherates.
> My lowly mother conceived me, in secret she brought me forth.
> She set me in a basket of rushes, with bitumen she closed my door;
> She cast me into the river, which rose not over me.
> The river bore me up, unto Akki, the irrigator, it carried me.
> Akki, the irrigator, as his own son ... reared me,
> Akki, the irrigator, as his gardener appointed me,
> While I was a gardener, the Goddess Ishtar loved me.
> And for ... four years[34] I ruled the Kingdom.
> The black-headed peoples I ruled, I governed.[35]

A close scrutiny of this legend shows clearly its connection with the Chthonic religion, when Ishtar the Semitic deity, known in the earlier Accadian culture as Inanna, was thought to be the Mother-Earth. She not only created mankind,[36] but also nourished them with crops and vegetables from her womb the earth. G. Maspero remarks on the original Chthonic nature of Ishtar before she assumed astral attributes. In the beginning of her existence, the primitive Goddess Ishtar "had represented only the earth".[37] The same view is taken by A.H. Sayce and H. Ringgren.[38] Ishtar's association with Tammuz, the vegetation god who annually dies and resuscitates is also another piece of evidence that she was originally the goddess of earth and fertility. Hence

Ishtar's support of Sargon as well as those who cultivate the soil. Her role as the sole feeder of mankind is well demonstrated by the belief that the ancient Babylonians mentioned her name before having their meals: "By way of grace," writes Wallis Budge, "the master or mistress mentioned the name of Ishtar ... just as the Arab today says: 'Bismillâh' (i.e. 'In the Name of God!), when he dips his hand into the dish."[39]

Eliot must have admired the connection of the Sargon legend with the Chthonic culture and the role of Ishtar as the Earth-Goddess. His pro-agrarian attitude is well explained in his essay "Virgil and the Christian World" (1951) which he wrote at a time when his plan of writing The Confidential Clerk was under way. In this essay Eliot notes with adulation that Virgil in the Georgics, "desired to affirm the dignity of agricultural labour, and the importance of good cultivation of the soil for the well-being of the state both materially and spiritually."[40] Eliot then proceeds to mention that Virgil's "attitude" in the Georgics holds good of our present dilemma, the crux of which is the neglect of land and agriculture in favour of industrialization. Virgil's "attitude", says Eliot, "towards the soil, and the labour of the soil, which is there expressed, is something that we ought to find particularly intelligible now, when urban agglomeration, the flight from the land, the pillage of the earth and the squandering of natural resources are beginning to attract attention".[41]

To return to the Sargon legend and its dramatization in the 'Ur-Clerk', the original version of The Confidential Clerk: Colby is Sargon; his mother is Mrs. Guzzard; his father, the supposed Herbert Guzzard, who died before the child had been born, was unknown to him;

Eggerson is Akki, the gardener who adopted him as his son, and initiated him into gardening. Ishtar, who fell in love with Sargon whom she raised to power, after he had been initiated into gardening is represented by Mrs. E. who loves Colby.

Having spelt out the legend, we proceed now to discuss its minute details in the Ur-Clerk. To begin with Colby's maternal origin; his mother, following Frazer's version of Sargon, is Mrs. Guzzard, who like Sargon's mother is not only "lowly", but lives in a place which overlooks the river into which the divine child is cast. As Sargon's mother lives in Azuripanu "which lies on the bank of the Eupherates", so Mrs. Guzzard resides in Teddington which overlooks the river Thames. Like Sargon's mother, too, Mrs. Guzzard appears to be "lowly", i.e. she belongs to the humble folk. Her role as a baby-farmer, which will be fully explained later, indicates what we say about her social status. She contends that she nursed B. Kaghan in return for regular payment.[42] Also, she confesses that she has deceived Sir Claude by making him believe that Colby is his son so that he can sponsor her and the child.[43]

Like Sargon, Colby did not know his father. Mrs. Guzzard contends that Colby is her son by her husband who died before the child was born, as is apparent from the following exchanges in the recognition scene of act III:

> Colby: Who was my father?
> Mrs. Guzzard: Herbert Guzzard.
> Colby: And who was my mother?
> Mrs. Guzzard: Let your mother rest in peace
> I was your mother; but I chose to be your aunt.[44]

The allusion to the death of her husband before Colby was born is emphatically explicit in Mrs. Guzzard's remark that his father is "Dead, and unknown to you."[45]

According to other renderings of the version of Sargon's maternal origin, the hero's mother is called "an entitum"; a word which, in the view of one critic, signifies the high position of priestess often held by a princess.[46] In 1872, H.F. Talbot noted that Sargon's mother belonged to a royal family, and she delivered him in secret.[47] Viewed in this perspective, Lady Elizabeth's claim that Colby is her son corresponds to Sargon's mother as a princess-priestess. The Lady Elizabeth of the Ur-Clerk reveals to Colby, whom she tries to convince of being her son that she "was a priestess of a very great family";[48] a revelation which is left out in the "Second Rough". The word "priestess" is deleted in the Ur-Clerk, and instead "a princess" is written on the margin. That Lady Elizabeth originally appears to be the counterpart of Sargon's mother, the priestess of Ishtar's temple, is also evident from her fascination with the number "eight", which was sacred to the goddess. Having learned that the name of Eggerson's successor, the new confidential clerk is "Slingsby Simpkins", the Lady Elizabeth of the original version admires him on the basis that his former name and surname each consists of eight letters: "I attach importance," she confides to Eggerson, "to the number of letters / In proper names. Eight letters. / Just like Eggerson." Like the Chaldaeans who showed great respect for numbers which they used to designate their gods and goddesses,[49] the Lady Elizabeth of the original version esteems the number "eight" because of its connection with Ishtar after she had acquired astral attributes. One of the representations on the temple tower of Ishtar depicts the goddess' star with eight rays which is also the sign of the star Venus.[50]

Lady Elizabeth, then, like Sargon's mother, is the modern entitum, who bore Colby, in secret, as she herself claims.[51] Her original confession that she "sinned in Babylon" and had to "accomplish [her] expiation in Mayfair",[52] subsequently left out, leaves no doubt as to the adaptation of the Sargon legend. Lady Elizabeth's sin, however,

was not that she had sexual intercourse with a married man, called Tony,[53] but that she conceived and bore a son - who was entrusted by the father to Mrs. Guzzard of Teddington. According to the Babylonian laws, a priestess was forbidden to bear children,[54] although she was allowed to have sexual intercourse since the temples were places where prostitution was deemed sacred, as it was committed in honour of Ishtar, the goddess of love and fertility.[55] Herodotus remarks that every Babylonian woman, poor and wealthy alike must visit the precinct of Venus [Ishtar] once in her lifetime. Well-to-do women, like Lady Elizabeth, drive to the precinct in carriages in order not to mix with the poor of her sex, like Mrs. Guzzard. Herodotus, then, proceeds to mention that the money collected from men by women is dedicated to the temple of Ishtar:

> ... A woman who has once taken her seat is not allowed to return home till one of the strangers throws a silver coin into her lap, and takes her with him beyond the holy ground. When he throws the coin he says these words - "the goddess Mylitta [the Assyrian form of Venus] prosper thee. The silver coin ... cannot be refused, for that is forbidden by the law, since once thrown it is sacred. The woman goes with the first man who throws her money, and rejects no one. When she has gone with him, and so satisfied the goddess, she returns home.[56]

It is not going too far to show this point of contact between the licentious deed of Sargon's mother and that of Lady Elizabeth, both of which can be explained by the act of prostitution performed in Ishtar's temple. That the priestess of Ishtar's temple, such as Sargon's mother, was allowed sexual intercourse is apparent from the allusion in the Gilgamesh Epic, to the episode in which one of the priestesses of Ishtar tempts a savage called Eabani the mountain dweller, whom she seduced and consequently tamed.[57] In addition, Frazer, in his remark on the sensual worship of Ishtar quotes Strabo, who recounts that the

daughters of the noblest families regularly prostituted themselves for a long time before marriage at the temple of Anaitis in Acilisena, a city of Armenia.[58]

Whether Colby is the illegitimate son of Lady Elizabeth or Mrs. Guzzard, the two women may be related to the sacred harlots of Ishtar who by their lustful behaviour thought that they honoured the goddess.[59] However, the idea that Colby is the illegitimate offspring of Lady Elizabeth and her seducer corresponds closely to the Sargon legend which states clearly the bastard nature of Sargon whose noble mother must have conceived him during the period she spent at the temple. The bastardy of Sargon whom Ishtar favoured appears to belong to the earliest times when sexuality was thought to have its impact on the promotion of fertility and the growth of crops. Frazer, in his discussion of the influence of sexuality on vegetation cites as one example the festival of the Indians of Peru when men violated women so that the orchards might be abundantly fruitful.[60] In ancient Prussia, it was only women capable of practising sex who were asked to go to the fields and sow the seeds. The seeds, too, were taken to the fields in the shoe of a prostitute, or the stocking of a bastard, thus increasing the fertility of the grain through contact with things connected with persons characterized by a strong note of eroticism.[61]

In this connection we see why Colby-Sargon is initiated into gardening by Eggerson-Akki. In our discussion of the Dionysos myth, we shall see how the Eggerson of the Ur-Clerk undertakes the task of initiating Colby into gardening instead of business. In the scene where Eggerson is asked by Sir Claude to teach Colby the ins and outs of his new job, as the new confidential clerk to Sir Claude in lieu of Eggerson who is going to retire, the latter asks Colby if he is a

gardener. Having learned that Colby is not a gardener, Eggerson boasts of his own garden, adding that he cannot do without it. He concludes his speech by exhorting Colby: "You ought to take to gardening, Mr. Simpkins."[62] Eggerson's preoccupation with his garden is made clear by him in the presence of Colby. He reveals to him that he has nothing to do in Joshua Park except the task of putting his garden in order.[63] Just before his exit in act I, Eggerson exhorts Colby who has taken over from him:

> If anything should turn up unexpected
> And you find yourself non-plussed, you must get me on the phone.
> If I'm not in the house, I'll be out in the garden.[64]

Eggerson's adoption of Colby as his son, whom he initiates into gardening (corresponding to Akki's adoption of Sargon whom he adopted as his son and taught gardening) is emphatically expressed in the Ur-Clerk. In the closing scene of act III of this version, Colby rejects the parental claims of the Mulhammers, the eminent representatives of the industrial culture, in favour of the humble gardener Eggerson-Akki whom he bluntly asks to be his father:

> .... if either of you [i.e. Sir Claude and Lady Elizabeth]
> Is my parent, then I am fatherless,
> And motherless, for always. And how, I want a father
> And I know I shall never have had one. I even wish -
> It came into my mind a long time ago -
> I hope you won't mind my saying, Mr. Eggerson;
> I want you for a father.
>
> Eggerson: I don't mind Mr. Simpkins.[65]

Colby's remark: "I shall never have had one" [i.e. a father in the flesh], may have been suggested to Eliot by the uncertainty of the paternal origin of Sargon who did not know his father.

The Colby of the original version prefers to be a verger at Joshua

Park where Eggerson resides.[66] The term "verger" or "virger" which is obsolete may signify a garden or orchard, as well as also meaning a caretaker of a church or a temple.[67] In the former case, Colby's choice of the verger vocation strengthens his connection with Sargon as a gardener. We can also suggest another interpretation for Colby's choice of being a "verger" which signifies an orchard. The word "verger" seems to be an allusion to Ishtar's Babylonian Garden of Eden, her primitive home where she allows Tammuz, her consort to live with her.[68] On the other hand, if we accept the term "verger" as signifying only the caretaker of a temple, Colby's choice of this vocation in honour of Mrs. E.-Ishtar of Joshua Park, recalls Sargon's devotion to Ishtar's temple at Accad, called Eulmas; a temple which he built and looked after.[69] To this temple Sargon consecrated all the possessions he seized in his conquests.[70]

Connected with Eggerson-Akki's initiation of Colby-Sargon is Mrs. E.-Ishtar's love for her protégé. According to the Sargon legend, Ishtar fell in love with the hero after he had been initiated into gardening and acquired a remarkable skill in cultivation. As a reward for this, Ishtar made him a King. Among the oldest remains of the clay models of the liver found at Mari is one which bears a sign "Ishtar manifested her choice of him (Sargon) and her will to accomplish all his desires." This favour of the goddess was enough; there soon occurred to him an omen which preluded his supremacy, "he had no rival".[71] Hence in due course, he became master of the land, achieving victories in southern Babylonia, Syria and Asia Minor.[72] Ishtar's appointment of Sargon to a Kingdom goes as far back as the time when sacral Kingship was a divine prerogative bestowed on the chosen person by the goddess. In A. Poebel's Historical and Grammatical Texts (1914),

the chosen King, like Sargon, had to go to Erech, where in the temple of Inanna [the Sumerian form of Ishtar], he approached the throne of the "Lady of the Crown". Having taken the sceptre in his hand and placed the Crown on his head, the elected monarch received a new name from Ishtar. Sargon's original name, it should be noted, was Sharrukin who should be distinguished from another King of the same name - also called Sargon after his ascension to the throne - who reigned over Accad too, some 1800 years later.[73] Till the end of his life, Ishtar was of very much help to Sargon, and he consequently remained loyal to her. In short, Ishtar bestowed the divine Kingship on Sargon, just as the Lord God bestowed the divine Kingship on Moses.

In The Confidential Clerk, Ishtar's place is taken by Mrs. E. who is Eggerson's wife on the surface level. That Mrs. E. is intended to be the Mother of All Living is made clear from our discussion.[74] Here Mrs. E. is Ishtar, the Mother Earth who favours Colby-Sargon. There are many allusions to Mrs. E.'s love for Colby, which are expressed through Eggerson who on the deeper level appears to be her confidential clerk rather than Sir Claude's. The first allusion occurs just before Sir Claude's scene with Colby in which he (Colby) rejects the business-man's paternal claim to him. Thus Eggerson, before leaving, tells Colby that Mrs. E. repeatedly insists on inviting him for dinner, but he (Eggerson) prefers him to come in the spring when the garden will be blooming and worth seeing.[75] On the deeper level, Eggerson's desire that Colby's invitation should be made in the spring, when vegetation overwhelms nature is not his own, but it is originally the desire of the Earth-Goddess, Mrs. E.-Ishtar. Apart from the fact that Eggerson's speech incorporates an allusion to his intention to make Colby develop an interest in gardening, it also shows clearly Mrs. E.-Ishtar's affectionate attitude towards Colby to whose favour he is destined. Also the invitation of Colby for dinner in Joshua Park may suggest the ritual meal held in honour of Ishtar.[76]

The other allusion to Mrs. E.-Ishtar's deep interest in Colby, which was subsequently removed, occurs when Eggerson comes back at the beginning of act III in response to Sir Claude's request that he (Eggerson) should conduct the inquiry into Colby's identity by questioning Mrs. Guzzard. No sooner does the Eggerson of the Ur-Clerk realize that he has been asked to come for this reason, than he expresses his hope that Colby is well, adding that "Mrs. E. particularly asked me to remind him that he is to come to see us in Joshua Park - / Early in the Spring."[77] The last allusion is included in the closing scene of act III of the original version. No sooner does Colby accept Eggerson's offer i.e. to be a verger in the Joshua Park parish church than the latter exclaims: "This will be news indeed, for Mrs. E."; a line which is elaborated in the subsequent revisions as follows:

> There'll be no one so pleased as Mrs. E.;
> Of that I can assure you.[78]

Apparently, Eggerson's garden is "the garden of Ishtar which Babylonian tradition placed in the immediate vicinity of Eridu".[79] This garden is also the primitive home of Tammuz, where his mother and wife Ishtar primarily resided and was there called "the Lady of Edin".[80] Just as Ishtar has a garden of her own in which she and her consort, whether Tammuz or the chosen King of Babylon, reside; so Mrs. E. occupies the Joshua Park garden, and she wants Colby to join her. In brief, our contention is that Eggerson's garden which is originally the garden of Mrs. E., i.e. the Mother Earth, corresponds to the Babylonian garden of Ishtar the age-old Semitic Mother Earth Ishtar where she lives and wants Sargon to join her in the Spring.

One further point in our discussion of the adaptation of the Sargon legend of birth and life in the Ur-Clerk

connection with the mythological concept of water as the maternal origin of the divine child. We have already seen that Sargon's mother set her infant in a basket of rushes, the door of which she closed with bitumen and cast it into the river which bore him into Akki. Apparently this myth of exposing the newly born babe by casting it into the river belongs to an age when water was symbolically thought to be the maternal origin of mankind. In the Sumerian and Babylonian myths of creation, the river Eupherates, says L.W. King, was thought to be the primeval origin of created beings, for it "never ceased to be regarded as the source of life and the creator of all things".[81]

To what extent this myth of primeval water as the origin of created beings has found its way into the original version of The Confidential Clerk is apparent from the description of Colby by Lucasta as a peculiar being and not a type for he is an "odd fish";[82] a description which is regretably left out in the "Second Rough". The description of the Colby of the original version as "a fish" associates him with Ishtar, whose emblem, apart from the dove, urges Jessie L. Weston, was the fish.[83] In honour of the Goddess the fish were kept in ponds near to the temple, and superstitious dread forbade their capture, for the deity castigates such sacrilege, smiting the offender with ulcers and tumours.[84] The description of Colby as "a fish" relates him too to the amphibious being who, according to Berossos, the Babylonian priest (281-262 B.C.) came from the Red Sea in the early years after Chaldea had been established.[85] This being had the body of a fish, but underneath the head there had grown another (i.e. human) head. He "spent the day with men, ... and gave them knowledge of letters and numbers and many arts, and taught them the settlements of cities, the founding of temples and introduction of laws ... he explained seeds and the harvestings of crops, and all things together which relate to the civilized life."[86] According to Sayce, this being is Ea, the Babylonian river god, known as the culture-god of primitive Babylonia. His wife

Dav-Kina [another name for Ishtar], was the "Lady of the Earth" and she, therefore, personified the earth, just as Ea personified the water.[87]

This account of that being who came from the water and taught people art and cultivation may throw light on the exposure myth of Sargon, who was not drowned but survived, and reigned over the "black-headed people" i.e. the Accadians, teaching them art and cultivation. He established in his capital, the royal library which contained the terrerestial omens. He was also famous for his patronage of learning and the celebrated library he founded in Accad caused the district to be known as the "region of books".[88]

Like Sargon, the Colby of the original version appears to have connection with the water (the River Thames which runs from south-east to the north-west of Teddington where he has been brought up). Hence the description of him as a "fish" which also may imply the sense of his exposure into the river. Like Sargon, too, Colby is a man who is interested in learning. He is expected to be the only person who can understand the sophisticated knowledge held by Lady Elizabeth with respect to her interest in "Light from the East", and "the Wisdom of Atlantis".[89] Also, the Colby of the original version asserts that he taught people in Teddington foreign languages;[90] an assertion which is subsequently left out.

Colby's affinity with Sargon is also apparent from the interest he begins to show in farming. The "Second Rough", as we shall see later, makes him not only admire gardening, but also realize how important a real garden of vegetables is for anyone who wants to achieve an integral life. Here lies the allusion to the task of cultivation which, according to the Ishtar of the Chthonic religion, was one of the requirements of sacral Kingship.

This brings us to the reworking of the Tammuz-Ishtar myth in The Confidential Clerk. No apology is required to divert for a while from the Sargon legend, since the Sumerian and early Babylonian Kings, including Sargon himself, seem to have identified themselves with Tammuz. It was believed that the King incarnated the life-giving forces of the Spring through union with Ishtar, the source of all life, by engaging in a sacred marriage with the queen or the priestess in order to restore vegetation to nature. This ritual was a regular part of the Babylonian deities' worship "it represents the agricultural interests and necessities upon which the cities were well aware that their whole life and prosperity depended - it is only an intense industrial development which can even partly obscure this perception".[91]

That Sargon was associated in the mind of his subjects with Tammuz, who was addressed as ablu Kinu, i.e. the only son, appears from the King's divine name Sarru-Kinu, by which he was also addressed. Hence we infer that Sargon of Accad was regarded as Tammuz, the consort of Ishtar, for the gardener-King reminded his people of the sun-god.[92] Our inference, says Sayce, is supported by the fact that dirges dealing with the commemoration of the death of Tammuz who was cut off like a blade of corn or a tree, sprang up in the court of Sargon in his city of Accad.[93] Like Sargon, too, Isin-Dagan, the third King of the Amorite dynasty (c. 2258-2237 B.C.), identified himself with Tammuz. This King is referred to as joining in the amours of the Mother goddess at the season of her reunion with Tammuz. The King, therefore, as Tammuz, went to her "far-famed temple", holding a feast. The goddess embraced him, her beloved husband, and he enjoyed the favours she bestowed on him.[94] Gilgamesh, too, is believed to have died and been resurrected in the same way as Tammuz.[95] In brief, these Kings, in their roles as servants of the deities, assumed the part of Tammuz who united with the goddess Inanna-Ishtar, the source of all life, with whom the King and priestess became identified for the purpose of

engaging in a sacred marriage to restore fecundity in nature.[96]

Having noted that Semitic kings, like Sargon, represented Tammuz, the dying and resuscitated god, we have to remark on Ishtar's descent into hell in order to revive Tammuz and bring him up, for this point has its parallel, too, in The Confidential Clerk. Ishtar's attempt to rescue Tammuz from Hades is attested by a cuneiform text, a version of which is reproduced by R.W. Rogers.[97] The most that can be said here is that Colby-Tammuz's absence in Hades resulted in the desiccation of vegetation and nature in general. Hence, the necessity for the dying god to come out of the nether region so that the land should regain its lost vegetation. In this sense, we can explain not only Colby's temporary staying in Hades with the Mulhammers, but also Mrs. E.-Ishtar's concern with and pursuit of her lover, the fertility god. Evidently the period which Colby spends in the Hades of the Mulhammers (note that the Babylonian Lord of Hades was called "Mul-lil",[98] the first component part of which constitutes the first component part of Sir Claude's surname "Mulhammer") roughly corresponds to autumn and winter; a time when nature suffers from infecundity. The 'Ur-Clerk', the original version of the play, states clearly that the action begins in November,[99] which is "the month of the Dead", according to the Catholic dogma.[100] The reference to the timing of the action occurs in Sir Claude's bewildered remark on Lady Elizabeth's insistence on going to Lausanne for treatment in November; a remark which is left out in the "Second Rough". Nevertheless the play, in its finished form, shows clearly that the action begins apparently before or during the early days of the winter as is evidenced by Eggerson's preoccupation with buying new gardening tools "so as not to lose a moment at the end of the winter".[101] Hence, Colby, like Tammuz, is sought for by Mrs. E.-Ishtar whose representative is Eggerson, the priest of her temple at Joshua Park. Like Tammuz, killed by Ares, identified with the Babylonian god Adar, "the god of the pig" whose "name (AN-BAR) was

used ideographically to denote iron",[102] Colby, too, formerly the Eggerson's son, is killed by Sir Claude, the industrialist. Sir Claude's promotion of industry conduced to the war which killed him. Note that the Eggersons' son is "lost in action and his grave unknown.[103] Hence the allusion to the deep sorrow which Mrs. E. feels for his loss, which has its counterpart in Ishtar's sorrows and bewailings. Mrs. E.'s mourning for Colby-Tammuz's death underlies the following exchanges reproduced in the finished text:

> Lady Elizabeth: I hope Mrs. Eggerson is well?
> Eggerson: Pretty well.
> She's always low-spirited, around this season,
> When we're getting near the anniversary.
> Sir Claude: The anniversary? Of your son's death?
> Eggerson: Of the day we got the news. We don't often
> speak of it;
> Yet I know what's on her mind, for days beforehand.[104]

Thus Mrs. E.-Ishtar's son who died is Colby-Tammuz, for whose death the prophet Ezekiel saw the women of Jerusalem weep at the gate of the temple (8:4).[105] His resurrection and reunion with Mrs. E. and the resultant joy, as previously seen,[106] corresponds to the Babylonian festival of jubilation occasioned by Ishtar's reunion with Tammuz which succeeds the sorrows and lamentation for his death.[107]

Colby's reunion with Mrs. E. in the Spring also implies the idea of the sacred marriage between Tammuz and Ishtar which was re-enacted by the Babylonian Kings every year in the ritual of the New Year Festival. This sacred marriage between Tammuz and Ishtar may explain why Colby objects to human marriage. The fact that Colby objects to human marriage, an objection which is repeated several times throughout the text,[108] may suggest his intended reunion, i.e. his sacred marriage, with Mrs. E.

In view of our discussion of the identification with Tammuz, Colby recalls Sargon or any other Babylonian King of the Ishtar's age, who

seems to have re-enacted the ritual myth of Tammuz's death, resurrection and reunion with Ishtar, the goddess of love and fertility. Apart from this, we have seen that Colby recalls Sargon with respect to his parentage; his connection with water; his initiation into gardening by his adoptive father Eggerson-Akki, and above all Mrs. E.-Ishtar's love for Colby-Sargon. In addition, the Ur-Clerk dramatizes some other Babylonian features concerning social and marital life as will be seen from our discussion below.

* * *

One of these features is related to baby-farming. Mrs. Guzzard, who is described as a baby-farmer, recalls the Babylonian women who adopted this profession owing to the increasing number of illegitimate children. In Babylonia, it should be noted, illegitimate infants who were unwanted, had to be cast into pits, or like Sargon of Accad, had to be encased in reed chests and committed to the river.[109] In other cases, fathers of illegitimate children, like the Sir Claude of Eliot, were able to hire a baby-farmer, like Mrs. Guzzard, in order to nurse them until they grew up, and were taken by their fathers to help them in business.[110] The exegesis of baby-farming in Babylonia and the need for its foundation are explained as follows:

> ... in view of the law in the Code of Hammurabi children were sometimes allowed to die, and the nurse substituted other children. That Hammurabi found it necessary to make such a law shows that baby farming was common in Babylonia. Some of the boys who were farmed out were adopted by well-to-do but childless citizens who needed help on their farms or in their business.[111]

That The Confidential Clerk, in its original form, delineates Mrs. Guzzard as resembling these Babylonian baby farmers is explained by a

few exchanges between Sir Claude, Lady Elizabeth and Eggerson. Since Sir Claude and Lady Elizabeth each lays claim to Colby as his or her son on the ground that the latter has been brought up by Mrs. Guzzard of Teddington, Eggerson raises the suggestion that she is a baby farmer to whose care Colby and another child were entrusted:

> Eggerson: Could there not have been two babies?
> Lady Elizabeth: Two babies, Eggerson?
> Eggerson: I was only suggesting
> That perhaps Mrs. Guzzard made a profession
> Of ... looking after other people's children?
> In a manner of speaking, it's perfectly respectable.
> Sir Claude: You're suggesting that she ran a baby farm.
> That's most unlikely, nowadays.
> Eggerson: She might have taken in another one
> As a temporary accommodation -
> On suitable terms.[112]

The other child whom Mrs. Guzzard nursed "On suitable terms" turns out to be B. Kaghan. Also the death of an infant and the nurse's substitution of another one on the pattern mentioned in the Code of Hummurabi, may be explained by the death of a child in the care of Mrs. Guzzard whom she replaced by Colby. Note that Mrs. Guzzard confesses that "I had a child and lost him".[113] Also the Babylonian allusion to the adoption of boys, after they had been brought up in baby farms, by wealthy childless citizens is demonstrated in the Ur-Clerk where Eggerson exhorts Sir Claude to adopt B-Kaghan,[114] an exhortation which is subsequently left out. In effect, Mrs. Guzzard who had nursed Colby and B-Kaghan assumed the Babylonian role of baby farmer, for she received her wages from Sir Claude, the supposed father of Colby,[115] and from Lady Elizabeth's seducer, the supposed father of B-Kaghan.[116]

* * *

The other Babylonian feature, transformed in the play in its original version, is related to one's right to have a mistress so long as one's marriage proves childless. According to the Code of Hammurabi, if a man marries a wife who gives him no children, he is allowed to take a concubine. This concubine has the right to be introduced by him into his house, but she should not be treated on equal terms with his wife. Also the Code of Hammurabi shows us that one's daughter can be one's concubine as is evidenced by the ensuing clause which deals with the matter of her inheritance: "If a father has presented a marriage-gift to his concubine-daughter, given her to a husband, (and) written for her a sealed tablet, after the father has gone to (his) fate, she shall not share in the property of the father's house."[117]

That Sir Claude is initially meant to have a concubine, apart from his wife Lady Elizabeth, is made clear by the descriptive list of characters which is the earliest draft material prior to the prose-outline. In this list the characters cited in pairs are denoted as follows:

The Company Director (Sir Claude) The C.D.'s wife (Lady Elizabeth)
The Young Man (Colby) The C.D.'s Lady Friend (Lucasta)[118]
The Confidential Clerk (Eggerson) The Foster Mother (Mrs. Guzzard)
B. Sassnik (B. Kaghan) The Young Secretary (This character is dropped in the prose outline.)[119]

In view of this list, it seems obvious that Lucasta is originally intended to be Sir Claude's concubine. A subsequent revision of this list makes her Sir Claude's daughter: "Lucasta perhaps a natural daughter of Claude" reads Eliot's manuscript remark on her underneath the descriptive list above mentioned.[120] Despite this revision, the version of the 'Ur-Clerk' which is also reproduced in the printed text, alludes to Lucasta as

Sir Claude's mistress. Lucasta frankly admits that people, including her fiancé, B. Kaghan, think

> That I was Claude's mistress
> Or had been his mistress, palmed off on B. [Kaghan]
>
> Colby: I never thought of such a thing!
>
> Lucasta: There are not many men who wouldn't have thought it.
> I don't know about B. He's very generous.
> I don't think he'd have minded.[121]

Here lies the implication that Lucasta is Sir Claude's mistress palmed off by him on B. Kaghan whom he initiated into business. The justification for Sir Claude's right to have a mistress, which is Babylonian in origin, is explained by his fruitless marriage: "it's been a grief", says Eggerson to Sir Claude, "to both of you / That you've never had children."[122]

Ironically, Lucasta as a name denotes chastity, an attribute which had to be taken into account when a Babylonian girl was to get married. In other words, the sexual virtue of the would-be wife was one of the Babylonian conditions of the marriage contract in which her chastity had to be candidly mentioned. A Babylonian inscription of a marriage contract found in a contemporary tablet reads: "Ann-aa-uzni is a virgin, no one has anything to say against Ann-aa-uzni."[123] In view of the sexual freedom of all the Babylonian women as previously mentioned,[124] this condition of chastity must have been a subterfuge for their loss of virginity. Similarly Lucasta as a name which signifies chastity is inconsistent with her concupiscence. As previously noted, she is suspected by many people to be Sir Claude's mistress. Also her interest in Colby with whom she falls in love, though she is betrothed to B. Kaghan, confirms her lustfulness.

* * *

So far we have seen that the Sargon legend of birth and an early life, along with some other Babylonian features belonging to the age of this hero is reworked in the Ur-Clerk, the original version of The Confidential Clerk. The parallels are so conspicuously close that they are toned down in the subsequent versions, as is evidenced by the suppression of the direct allusions. Examples of these suppressed allusions to the Sargon legend are: the description of Lady Elizabeth as a licentious woman who has "sinned in Babylon", a description which, along with her religious profession as a priestess presents a very striking parallel to the version of Sargon's mother. She too is an "entitum", i.e. a priestess of Ishtar whose prostitution in the temple resulted in the birth of the illegitimate Sargon. The other parallels which the finished text retains are not less close than the omitted ones. Examples are: Eggerson's adoption of Colby whom he initiated into gardening, a detail which is identical with that of Akki's adoption of Sargon whom he initiated into gardening. Mrs. E.'s love for Colby closely resembles Ishtar's love for Sargon. In either case the goddess wants her consort to join her. Finally, the descent of Tammuz, with whom Sargon was identified, into Hades, and his resurrection in the spring as a consequence of the intervention of Ishtar corresponds to the intervention of Mrs. E. in order to deliver Colby from the Hades of the Mulhammers in the spring.

* * *

In the "Second Rough", we notice that the Sargon legend of birth and an early life of farming is enhanced, a task which

appears to have been accomplished by the incorporation of overt allusions to Colby-Sargon's illegitimacy; to his preference of having a real garden to cultivate, one in which he plants vegetables; and finally to his adoptive father as an enthusiastic gardener who owes a great deal of reverence to the Earth-Goddess Mrs. E.-Ishtar.

The emphasis placed on the illegitimacy of Colby-Sargon is well demonstrated by the insertion of his assurance that he has no idea who his father was. In reply to Lady Elizabeth's "What became of your father?", Colby retorts:

> Well ... I didn't have a father.
> You see ... I was an illegitimate child.[125]

Further the Colby of the "Second Rough" impresses us with the sense of being a foundling, just like Sargon who, in his childhood, knew nothing about his parentage. In response to the paternal and maternal claims of Sir Claude and Lady Elizabeth respectively, Colby shows an entirely indifferent attitude to the idea of parentage, since he thought that he came to this world without parents:

> I'm simply indifferent.
> And all the time that you've been talking
> I've only been thinking: 'What does it matter
> Whose son I am?' You don't understand
> That when one has lived without parents, as a child,
> There's a gap that never can be filled. Never.
> I like you both, I could even come to love you -
> But as friends ... older friends. Neither, as a parent.
> I am sorry. But that's why I say it doesn't matter
> To me, which of you should be my parent.[126]

Here is the explanation of Sargon of Accad and other Babylonian heroes who considered Ishtar the true Mother.[127] That Colby is

meant to be the son of Mrs. E.-Ishtar appears not only from the hidden attempts of Ishtar's representative, Eggerson-Akki to secure him, but from his final departure to Joshua Park and his reunion with her.[128] Ironically, the "Second Rough" introduces Eggerson, who is going to retrieve and bring home Colby, at the beginning of act III just when Lady Elizabeth assures her husband that "Whatever happens / He (Colby) shall be our son."[129] No sooner does Lady Elizabeth finish this statement than Eggerson enters, reflecting on Mrs. E.'s need for Colby, her son.[130] His speeches, which often allude to his wife as Mrs. E., a reflection or a pun on the Earth-Goddess, not only influence Colby to so great an extent that he at last joins him and Mrs. E., but also indicate his support of Mrs. Guzzard's claim that he (Colby) is neither Sir Claude's nor Lady Elizabeth's son.[131]

* * *

The most notable addition made in the "Second Rough" with a view to enhancing the Sargon legend concerns Colby's interest in cultivation; an interest which made Ishtar regard the Babylonian hero with an eye of favour. It is true that the original scene in which Eggerson explicitly instructs Colby in gardening instead of business[132] is left out in this version. But this is compensated for by the addition which occurs in act II, in the scene between Lucasta and Colby. Lucasta envies Colby for his "garden of music" where "You hear a music that no one else could hear / And the flowers have a scent that no one else could smell."[133] However Colby is more interested in gardening than in music. In particular, he shows how unreal his

"garden of music" is in comparison with Eggerson's "garden of vegetables". In reply to Lucasta's remark on his music, above mentioned, Colby says:

> You may be right, up to a point.
> And yet, you know, it's not quite real to me -
> .....
> You know, I think that Eggerson's garden
> Is more real than mine.[134]

Colby then proceeds to show in what way Eggerson's garden is more real than his: To his garden, Eggerson "retires" "literally" without feeling alone. And above all, when he comes out, he brings to his wife "marrows, or beetroot, or peas". This is what makes Eggerson's garden according to Colby "a part of one single world".[135] Thus Colby has come to realize that cultivation as is exemplified by Eggerson's garden is "a part of one single world", i.e. a world of chthonic nature which not only provides mankind with the necessary food which makes them sustain their lives, but also helps the cultivator to achieve integrity and avoids binary existence. As far as the notion of cultivation and one's connection with the soil as a means of enabling him to achieve integrity are concerned, it has been emphasized by Eliot in The Idea of a Christian Society (1939).[136]

In regard to the King's task of farming as a means of sustaining mankind, it appears to be originally Babylonian. The early Babylonian Kings in general and Sargon of Accad in particular, were versed in horticulture. With respect to Sargon we have seen that he ascended the throne on account of his skill in farming; a virtue which pleased the Ishtar of the chthonic religion whose adherents took special interest in the earth and its forces in contrast to the Hebraic religion which concerned itself with the powers of heaven.[137] We are also told that the

early Babylonian deity was "the greatest cultivator in the State after the King, sometime even excelling him in this respect".[138] A Babylonian brick inscription belonging to Nurimmer (2027-2012 B.C.), King of Larsa shows that one of the attributes he ascribes to himself is that he is "the true irrigator of Ur".[139] A stele of Ur-Nammu, the founder of the third dynasty of Ur shows a picture which suggests the King as irrigator. He is seen watering the roots of the palm from a vase filled with water, while he is accompanied by an attendant goddess.[140] Sumerian Kings, too, were elected on account of their experiences as deft farmers. For example, King Lipitishtar, who called himself "the beloved consort of Inanna [the Sumerian farm of Ishtar] boasts of himself: "the farmer who stores his heap of grain am I".[141] All these examples show how important the religion of the soil was to the Babylonian Kings and their subjects. As C.J. Gadd sums it up: the Babylonian culture was "in very close touch with the soil, and depended for its maintenance almost wholly upon agriculture. Whatever more artificial elements therefore may enter into Babylonian religion, we may be sure that nature - worship was the religion of the people, and thereby powerful, though not all-powerful, in the official cults."[142]

* * *

Apart from the emphasis on Colby's concern with cultivation introduced in the "Second Rough", the Eggerson-Akki of this version, who undertakes the task of initiating Colby into this fruitful vocation, is given a speech in which he shows how enthusiastic he is to buy new gardening tools so as to put his

garden in order for the spring. Eggerson's speech in the "Second Rough" is meant to be an exhortation of Colby to follow in his footsteps, as it is directly addressed to him. However the late versions make this speech of Eggerson open his conversation with Sir Claude at the very beginning of the text. In it, Eggerson wants to intimate that his coming up to London from Joshua Park at the request of Sir Claude is much more important to him in order to buy new gardening tools than to meet Lady Elizabeth in the airport on her return from Switzerland. In response to Sir Claude's apologetic remark on bringing him to London for this purpose, Eggerson immediately replies:

> But I was glad of the excuse for coming up to London:
> I've spent the morning shopping! Gardening tools.
> The number of things one needs for a garden!
> And I thought, now's the moment to buy some new tools
> So as not to lose a moment at the end of the winter
> And I matched some material for Mrs. E.,
> Which she's been wanting. So she'll be pleased.
> Then I lunched at the store - they have a restaurant;
> An excellent lunch, and cheap, for nowadays.
> But where's Mr. Simpkins? Will he be here?[143]

To return to Eggerson's attempt to secure Colby, it should be noted that the "Second Rough" shows clearly how he endeavours to persuade Sir Claude to believe in Mrs. Guzzard's story, i.e. that Colby is her son, not Sir Claude's: "I think it very unlikely", he admonishes Sir Claude, that Mrs. Guzzard could invent this explanation on the spur of the moment. He then urges Sir Claude to "believe it" for Colby "must be recognized / As Mrs. Guzzard's son".[144] Eggerson's exhortation indicates beyond doubt his explicit desire to discredit Sir Claude's paternal claim to Colby so that he can be free to follow him.

This speech of Eggerson is drastically revised in the "Second Draft" where it assumes the form which the play in its finished text reproduces:

> I'll examine the records myself, Sir Claude.
> Not that we doubt your word, Mrs. Guzzard:
> But in a matter of such extreme importance
> You'll understand the need for exact confirmation.[145]

But will Eggerson really examine the records of Colby's certificate of birth which states he is the Guzzard's son? Certainly not as one critic has noted.[146] To compare this speech with the corresponding one in the "Second Rough", it seems obvious that the reason for revision is to make explicit Eggerson's attempt to secure Colby.

* * *

One final addition we come across in the "Second Rough" concerns Lucasta and her remark on her "dirty public square"; a remark which seems to suggest the Babylonian "public square of the sick", mentioned by Herodotus, as will be shown soon. In her scene with Colby which begins act II, Lucasta envies him for his "garden of music" and the decent society to which she thinks he belongs. In reply to this, Colby wonders whether she has not her own secret garden if she could find it. Being obsessed with the tortured memory of her past miserable childhood due to her mother, the harlot who chose whoredom as a profession, Lucasta regrets that

> my only garden is ... a dirty public square
> In a shabby part of London - like the one where I lived
> For a time, with my mother. I've no garden.
> I hardly feel that I'm even a person.[147]

In fact Lucasta's reflection on her "dirty public square" and her feeling of depersonalization is another way of saying that she suffers from the malady of recklessness and lustfulness. Her recklessness is explained by her inability to stick to any job,[148] while her lustful nature can be suggested, as previously seen, by her love for Colby, despite the fact that she is engaged to B. Kaghan.

In view of this, the allusion to the "public square" which signifies Lucasta's sickness as well as her mother's seems to suggest the Babylonian "public square" where the sick used to lie to be given advice by the passers-by; a historical narrative which Herodotus records. According to him, the Babylonians

> have no physicians, but when a man is ill, they lay him in the public square, and the passers-by come up to him, and if they have ever had his disease themselves or have known anyone who has suffered from it, they give him advice, recommending him to do whatever they found good in their own case, or in the case known to them; and no one is allowed to pass the sick man in silence without asking him what his ailment is.[149]

It is not exaggerating if we say that Lady Elizabeth, who for some time was a lustful reckless girl, as her original version shows,[150] is the counterpart of the Babylonian passer-by who, on account of having the same disease, advises the sick person - Lucasta what to do. she advises Lucasta to be a herbalist, by having her meals in her favourite "Herbal Restaurant",[151] apparently in order to attain some degree of asceticism. The prescription of herbs for the sick people was known, according to Wallis Budge, to the ancient Egyptians and the Babylonians alike.[152] It should be noted that herbs were used for purposes

of purification, as they were thought to have possessed cleansing properties,[153] and healing power as in Vedic documents.[154]

We turn now to the discussion of the revisions made in the final drafts with a view to strengthening the Sargon legend. These revisions mainly consist of Eggerson's anticipation that Colby will have a garden of his own, as he intends to enhance his initiation into gardening during the period of his temporary stay with Sir Claude; the incorporation of the allusion to Ishtar as the Goddess of love and her expected patronage of Colby-Sargon. Also the insertion of the allusion to the expected future of Colby-Sargon as a great warrior, favoured by Ishtar; and finally the allusion to Lady Elizabeth, the entitum and supposed mother of Colby-Sargon as "a changeling".

With respect to the anticipation that Colby will have a garden in the future, this is put in the mouth of the Eggerson of the "Final Text". For this purpose, Eggerson suggests that Colby's flat in the mews must have window boxes; a suggestion which he makes in response of Sir Claude's intimation that he intends to buy Colby "a really good piano":

> Sir Claude: I'm trying to find him a really good piano.
> Eggerson: A piano? Yes, I'm sure he'll feel at home
> When he has a piano. You think of everything.
> But if I might make a suggestion: window boxes!
> He's expressed such an interest in my garden
> That I think he ought to have window boxes.[155]

Following on Eggerson's suggestion of "window boxes" is his anticipation that Colby will have a garden; and for this reason he must have a bird-bath in his flat:

> Eggerson: Some day, he'll want a garden of his own.
> And yes, a bird bath!

> Sir Claude: A bird-bath? In the mews? What's the point of that?
>
> Eggerson: He told me he was very fond of bird watching.[156]

Eggerson's prediction that Colby will "want a garden of his own" exemplifies not only the result of the former's initiation of the latter into gardening, but also his prophetic power. So far as his prophetic power is concerned, Eggerson echoes the priests and priestesses of the temple of Ishtar at Arbela, where they were employed as the mouthpieces of the Goddess, for they conveyed her oracles and prophecies to the people.[157] The allusion to the bird-bath may suggest at this level, the water of life for which Ishtar searched in the nether world; water by which she wanted to revive the Sun-God Tammuz and nature. According to one critic:

> The legend of Ishtar's descent into Hades is but a thinly-veiled description of the earth-goddess seeking below for the hidden waters of life, which shall cause the Sun-god and all nature with him to rise again from their sleep of death.[158]

Connected with the "bird-bath" which seems to be a reflection on the water of life is Colby's interest in bird watching, an image which is anticipated in Ash-Wednesday (1930), where the worship of the Earth-Goddess is conveyed by the bird, singing beside the fountain of the water of life: "the fountain sprang up and the bird sang down / Redeem the time, redeem the dream."[159] The speaker then proceeds to invoke the "veiled lady" an attribute of Ishtar who brings life only when she is "veiled",[160] to "pray for / Those who walk in darkness".[161] As noted in our discussion of the adaptation of the Dionysos legend, birds which

were sacred to the Earth-Goddess had been endowed with the mana which brings the rain, that augments the fecundity of nature. Here we should remark in passing that tame birds, especially the dove, were sacred to Ishtar.[162] However, there are no birds worth watching in London as Sir Claude admits.[163] In response, the Eggerson of the "Final Text" remarks:

> I don't know, Sir Claude. Only the other day
> I read a letter in The Times about wild birds seen in London.[164]

Here the allusion to the wild birds sheds further light on our contention that the Mulhammers' house in London is a sort of counterpart of the Babylonian Hades of Mul-lil,[165] whose attributes were invested by no less a lustful King than Sir Claude. This "lusty King" - an epithet by which he was designated - was also called the "divine storm-bird", which we understand to be the type of a preying-bird.[166] In addition, the god Zu who assumed the guise of a bird of prey desired to be like Mul-lil insofar as his reign over the Hades is concerned.[167] Contrasted with the wild birds associated with the Hades of the Mulhammers are the tame birds of the Joshua Park of Ishtar which Eggerson implicitly wants Colby to watch.

As for Eggerson's prediction that Colby will "want a garden of his own",[168] introduced in the "Final Text", it is closely connected with the Sargon legend. In particular, Colby like Sargon, acquires farming skill after he has grown up and even become older. In the case of Sargon, we are told that "As he grew older he was set to till the garden and cultivate the fruit-trees and while engaged in this humble work attracted the love of the goddess Ishtar".[169]

Contrasted with Colby's desire to be a gardener is Colby's rejection of his ambition to be an eminent businessman, like Sir Claude, in favour of the goddess of love, Ishtar. His remark on "love" which alludes to Ishtar as the goddess of love is inserted in the "Acting Version". By the end of this version, and after he had finally determined to join Eggerson in Joshua Park, Colby exhorts Sir Claude:

> Now that I've abandoned my illusions and ambitions
> All that's left is love.[170] But not on false pretences:
> That's why I must leave you.[171]

Indeed the true love which is "not on false pretences" is that of Ishtar, the Earth-Goddess and deity of love, whom poets, such as Rimbaud, highly adore.[172] Her affection is given only to those who cultivate the soil. These are the persons, who according to the chthonic religion, have the right to rule over the people, since they undertake the task of sustaining their lives by securing the staff of life for them.

Colby's remark on love which appears to allude to Ishtar as the goddess of love seems to imply an allusion to Tammuz's reunion with Ishtar for the remaining half of the year. According to A.H. Sayce,

> There were some who said that he (Tammuz) shared half the year with the goddess of death, and the other half only with the goddess of love; ... and that it was to Ashetoreth that he devoted his months of freedom. But all agreed that the Sun-god of spring was not compelled to live for ever in the gloomy under-world; a time came when he and nature would alike revive.[173]

Indeed the period which Colby spent in the Hades of the Mulhammers amounts to six months; for as we mentioned earlier,

the action of the play in its original form, starts in October and ends with the coming of spring.[174] Also the allusion to the months of freedom during which Colby-Tammuz is going to stay with Ishtar,[175] underlies his rejoicing in Mrs. Guzzard's story that he is not Sir Claude's son; a story which releases him from the shackles of the Mulhammers in order to join Eggerson and the goddess of love. Thus, in response to Mrs. Guzzard's endeavour to convince Sir Claude that Colby is not his son, the latter happily retorts:

> I believe you. I must believe you.
> This gives me freedom.[176]

Like Sargon of Accad, who appears to have played the role of the High Priest of Ishtar after his ascension to the throne, Colby is expected to be a priest. This expected role, predicted by Eggerson, is introduced in the "Final Text" where he hints to Colby that he will

> be thinking of reading for orders.
> And you'll still have your music. Why, Mr. Simpkins,
> Joshua Park may be only a stepping-stone
> To a precentorship! And a canonry![177]

It should be noted that Sargon and the early Babylonian monarchs were Kings, who, at the same time, assumed the role of the High Priest. We have seen earlier how Sargon paid special attention to the temple of Ishtar.[178] Z.A. Ragozin observes that these monarchs were called patesis, i.e. high priests, and the form their governments assumed was thought to be divine.[179] The same thing occurs in the Hebrew traditions. In their religious festivals, such as the New Year's Day "the King acting as the chief priest of the nation, had to enter the Holy of Holies,

censer in hand, and there secure ... the flame which was necessary for the rekindling of the altar fire and the carrying out of an annual rite of expiation."[180]

Colby's music, too, to which Eggerson refers in his speech above cited, will be of a great help in the religious services made in honour of Mrs. E.-Ishtar. The use of music on the occasion of religious festivals in Babylonia enhanced the pleasure of the people. It was played by the temple staff of priests and priestesses.[181]

Finally, one further change we notice in the late drafts is related to Colby-Sargon's supposed mother. Having removed Lady Elizabeth's description of herself as a "priestess", Eliot makes her confide to Colby that she is a "changeling" just as Sargon's mother is thought to be:

> ... You know, I actually liked to believe
> That I was a foundling - or do I mean 'changeling'?[182]

Similarly, Sargon's mother is said to have been a changeling. According to E.A. Speiser, the epithet "entitum" by which Sargon's mother is designated also means "changeling".[183] A changeling may be defined as the child of a non-human race (i.e. elves, fairies or under-earth folk) left in place of a human child which is stolen away from its mother by members of that race. Such a child described as a "changeling" was always detected by its ugly appearance, as it was deformed with thick neck and large head.[184] The deformed ugly appearance of the changeling may explain why the Lady Elizabeth of the Acting Version confesses that one of her childhood obsessions is that she was "very ugly".[185] Also, Lady Elizabeth's description of herself as "a princess" in the Ur-Clerk has been replaced by her allusion to her father as an "earl": "I refused to believe /

That my father could have been an ordinary earl!"[186]

* * *

To sum up our discussion: the indebtedness to the Sargon legend cannot escape our notice. As shown from our treatment of its evolution throughout the drafts, the dramatization of the legend could be easily traced from the original version onwards. What makes the legend easier to detect in the original version is the overt allusions to its particulars, such as Eggerson-Akki's adoption of Colby-Sargon whom he initiated into gardening; Mrs. E.'s love for Colby which suggests that of Ishtar for Sargon; Colby's maternal origin which echoes that of Sargon.

When Eliot revised the Ur-Clerk in the form of what he then called the "Second Rough", some overt clues to the legend are eliminated. These are: the description of Lady Elizabeth, Colby-Sargon's mother as a princess-priestess; the allusion to Colby as an "odd fish"; Colby-Sargon's invocation of Eggerson to accept him as his son, and Mrs. E.-Ishtar's expectation of Colby's reunion with her in the spring. Despite the suppression of these overt allusions, some features of the legend are added in the "Second Rough", such as Colby's explicit predilection for gardening and his longing for a garden to cultivate. Other features are enhanced, such as the emphasis on the divine origin of Colby-Sargon; and the enhancement of Eggerson-Akki, his adoptive father, as a zealous gardener; an enhancement which is intended to induce his adopted son to be a gardener. Our discussion of the affinity between Colby and Tammuz does not by any means diminish the resemblance between Colby and Sargon,

for as we said, Sargon identified himself with Ishtar's consort.

In the late drafts, a few but significant touches are introduced. These are: Eggerson's prediction that Colby will be a gardener; the insertion of Eggerson's remark on Colby's need for a bird bath which seems to be a reflection on the water of life that will revive Colby and nature in the spring; Colby's remark on his preference for the goddess of love over the Mulhammers; and finally the addition of Lady Elizabeth's description of herself as "a changeling" which makes her echo Sargon's mother.

So far we have discussed the adaptation of the Sargon legend, and its evolution throughout the drafts. The legend, as we have seen, is deeply embedded in the chthonic religion when Mother Earth was the predominant deity. The stress laid on the cultivation of the soil, the insistence that the King should be versed in farming as a prerequisite of his enthronement, and the annual ritual of the King's re-enactment of the Tammuz-Ishtar myth are all pieces of evidence which indicate the connection between the Sargon legend and the chthonic religion. Since critics noted that the Moses legend, especially the story of his birth and exposure into the river is a transformation of that of Sargon of Accad, I intend to show in the following chapter how far the Hebraic legend is dramatized in The Confidential Clerk, laying emphasis, of course, on its growth and development throughout the drafts.

NOTES

1. See, e.g. D.E. Jones, op.cit., pp. 159-162; Grover Smith, op.cit., pp. 228-243.

2. T.S. Eliot, "Poetry and Drama" (1951), On Poetry and Poets, p. 85.

3. Quoted in Carol H. Smith, op.cit., p. 185. Also compare Eliot's view: "as in France, so in England, the more farcical comedy was the more serious" (T.S. Eliot, "Philip Massinger" (1920), Selected Essays, p. 217).

4. Bonamy Dobree, "The Confidential Clerk", Sewanee Review, 62 (1954), 118.

5. E. Martin Browne, "From the Rock to The Confidential Clerk", in T.S. Eliot: A Symposium for his 70th Birthday, ed. N. Braybrooke, Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1958, p. 67.

6. ll. 8-24. References to this play are from: The Ion of Euripides, translated by H.B.L., Williams & Norgate, London, 1889. Attempting to nationalize the paternal origin of Ion, H.B.L. holds the theory that Creusa mistook "a swain" whose "bright yellow hair glittered in sunshine" for Appllo of the golden locks (Ibid. p. xvi).

7. See Infra, p. 40.

8. See Infra, p. 87.

9. See Infra, p. 164.

10. ll. 16-20.

11. See Infra, pp. 87 ff.

12. Ion, ll. 1571-1605.

13. John M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, Watts & Co., London, 1910, p. 100.

14. Poems and Plays, pp. 40-41.

15. After Strange Gods: A Primer of Modern Heresy, p. 20.

16. See Eliot's article "Literature of Fascism" in The Criterion for December 1928, VIII, Faber, London, 1967, 288.

17. See Charles L. Lehrmann, The Jewish Elements in French Literature, translated from the French by G. Klin, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Rutherford, 1971, pp. 255-6.

18. "On the Degrees of Honesty in Various Occidental Religions" (1939), in Selected Prose, 1909-1965, edited by William Cockson, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1973, pp. 66-68.

19. See Infra, p. 84.

20. See Infra, pp. 87 ff.

21. Leslie A. Fiedler, "Simone Weil: Prophet out of Israel", Commentary (January 1951), p. 40.

22. Ibid., p. 43.

23. T.S. Eliot, "Preface" to S. Weil's Need for Roots. Translated from the French by A.F. Will, Routledge, London, 1952, pp. vii-viii.

24. Ibid., p. viii.

25. Ibid., p. ix.

26. See Appendix, for the description of the 'Ur-Clerk'.

27. It appears that Eliot embarked on writing the 'Ur-Clerk' after September 1951. Martin Browne, the producer of Eliot's plays and his theatrical advisor, to whose criticism the drafts were submitted, sent a letter to him on 21 October 1951, asking whether the writing of his new play is in progress. It was on 8 December 1952 that Browne receibed the first two acts of the original version. (See Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p. 249.)

28. See Infra, p. 237.

29. Alfred Loisy, The Religion of Israel (La Religion d'Israël), translated by Arthur Galton, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1910, p. 33.

30. Ibid., pp. xxiv-xxv.

31. For this date, see A.H. Sayce, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians, Williams & Norgate, London, 1887, p. 25.

32. Folk-lore in the Old Testament, II, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1918, 451.

33. In other versions "lowly" is replaced by princess, see Infra, p. 40.

34. Here the text is mutilated. However in other versions, "forty-five years" is mentioned (see, e.g. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 27).

35. Quoted in J.G. Frazer, Folklore in the Old Testament, II, 450.

36. One of the Accadian myths described Ishtar as the goddess who created Lullu, the first man corresponding to Adam:

> Thou art the mother-womb
> The one who creates mankind,
> Create, then, Lullu and let him bear the yoke.

(Quoted to E.A. Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics", in Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, edited by James B. Pritchard, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1950, p. 99, Col. 2.

37. G. Maspero, The Dawn of Civilization: Egypt and Chaldaea, edited by A.H. Sayce, translated by M.L. McClure, S.P.C.K., London, 1901, pp. 645-6.

38. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 25. According to H. Ringgren, although Ishtar was known as an astral deity in the late phase of her worship, she was originally a chthonic goddess, identified with the West Semitic Astarte. (Religions of the Ancient Near East, translated by J. Sturdy, S.P.C.K., London, 1973, p. 59.)

39. E.A. Wallis Budge, Babylonian Life and History, the Religious Tract society, London, 1925, p. 171.

40. On Poetry and Poets, p. 125.

41. Ibid., p. 126.

42. Printed Text, III, p. 508. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p.19.

43. Printed Text, III, p. 515. For the corresponding version of the 'Ur-Clerk' which is modified in phrasing, see Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p. 270.

44. Printed Text, III, p. 514. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, pp. 15-16.

45. Printed Text, III, p. 514. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p. 17.

46. Hartmut Schmökel, "Mesopotamian Texts" in Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the Old Testament, edited by Walter Beyerlin, SCM Press Ltd., London, 1978, p. 99.

47. "A Fragment of Ancient Assyrian Mythology", Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, I, Longmans, London, 1872, 277. See also A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 26, n. 1.

48. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 15.

49. G. Maspero, op.cit., p. 673.

50. Hugo Gressmann, The Twoer of Babel, edited by Julian Obermann, Jewish Institute of Religion Press, New York, 1928, p. 10.

51. Printed Text, II, pp. 487-8. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 19.

52. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 15.

53. Printed Text, II, p. 488. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 19.

54. Robert Graves, Hebrew Myths, Cassell, London, 1964, p. 159.

55. Ibid., p. 169.

56. The History of Herodotus, I, translated by George Rawlinson, J.M. Dent & Sons, London, 1933, 102.

57. See Infra, pp. 244-45.

58. J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Scapegoat, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 369.

59. For the sacred harlots of Ishtar, see ibid., p. 372.

60. The Golden Bough: The Magic Art, II, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 98.

61. M. Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, translated by Rosemary Sheed, Sheed and Ward, London & New York, 1958, p. 332.

62. Ur-Clerk, I.i, pp. 10-11.

63. Ur-Clerk, I.iii, p. 1.

64. Printed Text, I, p. 461. Ur-Clerk, I.iii, p. 9.

65. Reproduced in Martin Browne, The Making of Eliot's Plays, p. 270.

66. Reproduced in ibid., pp. 270-271.

67. See The Oxford English Dictionary.

68. See Infra, p. 46.

69. S. Langdon, Tammuz and Ishtar, the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914, p. 99.

70. M. Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Beliefs and practice in Babylonia and Assyria, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1911, p. 157.

71. C.J. Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion", The Cambridge Ancient History, I, part 2, edited by I.E.S. Edwards et al, the University Press, Cambridge, 1971, 423.

72. Ibid., pp. 424-27.

73. Z.A. Ragozin, Chaldea From the Earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1887, pp. 207-208.

74. See Infra, pp. 153 ff.

75. Printed Text, I, p. 461. Ur-Clerk, I.ii, p. 13.

76. This ritual meal, held in honour of Ishtar is described in a cuneiform text entitled "Prayer of the Raising of the Hand to Ishtar". A part of it reads: "This is the magical ritual: thou shalt kneal at the foot, ... A lamb shalt thou take, ... and thou shalt set fire; sweet scented unguents, fine meal and some cypress-wood shalt thou heap thereon;

a drink offering shalt thou offer ... This incantation before the goddess Ishtar three times shalt thou recite." (Quoted in R.W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, Oxford University Press, London, 1912, pp. 160-61.)

77. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p. 3.

78. Printed Text, III, p. 518.

79. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 238.

80. A.H. Sayce, ibid., pp. 237, 238, n. 1. A few lines from an old Babylonian hymn may throw light on this point: "In Eridu, a stawk grew over-shadowing; in a holy place it became green; ... / Its seat was the central place of the earth; ... / There is the home of the mighty mother who passes across the sky. / In the midst of it was Tammuz." (Quoted in Sayce, ibid., p. 238.)

81. L.W. King, Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to the Hebrew Tradition, Oxford University Press, London, 1918, p. 127.

82. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 5.

83. Jessie L. Weston, From Ritual to Romance, the University Press, Cambridge, 1920, p. 126.

84. Ibid.

85. See R.W. Rogers, op.cit., p. 76.

86. See Ibid., pp. 76-77.

87. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., pp. 133, 139.

88. A.H. Sayce, Ibid., pp. 29-30, 169.

89. Printed Text, I, p. 448.

90. Ur-Clerk, I.i, p. 7.

91. C.J. Gadd, "Babylonian Myth and ritual", in Myth and Ritual, edited by S.H. Hooke, Oxford University Press, London, 1933, p. 59.

92. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 28.

93. Ibid., p. 245.

94. E.O. James, The Cult of the Mother Goddess, Thames and Hudson, London, 1959, pp. 50-51.

95. J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Scapegoat, pp. 371, 398.

96. E.O. James, Myth and ritual in the Ancient Near East, Thames and Hudson, London, 1958, p. 55.

97. R.W. Rogers, op.cit., pp. 121-131.

98. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 300.

99. Ur-Clerk, I.i, p. 1.

100. See Jessie L. Weston, op.cit., p. 81.

101. Printed Text, I, p. 445.

102. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 186, n. 3.

103. Printed Text, I, p. 448.

104. Printed Text, III, pp. 496-7.

105. See Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Scapegoat, pp. 399-400.

106. See Supra, p. 46.

107. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 230.

108. Printed Text, II, p. 491. Ur-Clerk, I.iii, p. 16; III.ii, p. 6; III.iii, p. 27.

109. E.A. Wallis Budge, op.cit., p. 165.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Printed Text, III, p. 498. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, pp. 5-6.

113. Printed Text, III, p. 506.

114. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p. 21.

115. Printed Text, III, p. 489. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p. 4.

116. Printed Text, III, p. 507. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p. 19.

117. See T.G. Pinches, The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia, SPCK, London, 1903, p. 508.

118. Emphasis is mine.

119. Reproduced in Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p. 250.

120. Reproduced in Ibid., p. 251.

121. Printed Text, II, p. 476. Ur-Clerk, II.i, pp. 5-6.

122. Printed Text, I, p. 448.

123. S.A. Cook, The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1903, p. 101.

124. See Supra, p. 41.

125. Printed Text, II, p. 486. Second Rough, II, p. 24, in D9, p. 317.

126. Printed Text, II, p. 490. "Second Rough", II, p. 31, in D9, p. 324. This version of Colby's speech in the "Second Rough" is slightly different in phrasing.

127. See Supra, p. 37.

128. See Supra, p. 51.

129. Printed Text, III, p. 496.

130. See Supra, p. 46.

131. Printed Text, III, p. 514.

132. See Infra, p. 141.

133. Printed Text, II, p. 473. Second rough, II, p. 7, in D9, p. 300.

134. Printed Text, II, p. 473. Second Rough, II, p. 7, in D9, p. 300.

135. Printed Text, II, pp. 473-4. Second Rough, II, p. 7, in D9, p. 300.

136. See Infra, pp. 171-72.

137. H. Rinngren, op.cit., p. 50.

138. G. Maspero, op.cit., p. 679.

139. E. A. Wallis Budge, op.cit., p. 223.

140. Ibid., pp. 248-9.

141. H. Ringgren, op.cit., p. 41.

142. C.J. Gadd, "Babylonian Myth and Ritual", in Myth and Ritual, edited by S.H. Hooke, p. 44.

143. Printed Text, I, p. 445. Second Rough, I.i, p. 1 in D9, p. 96.

144. "Second Rough", III, p. 28, in D9, p. 469.

145. Printed Text, III, p. 514. Second Draft, III, p. 36 in D9, p. 527.

146. Grover Smith, op.cit., p. 241.

147. Printed Text, II, p. 473. Second Rough, II, p. 6, in D9, p. 299.

148. Printed Text, I, p. 452. Second Rough, I, pp. 13-14, in D9, pp. 85-6.

149. Herodotus, op.cit., I, 101.

150. Ur-Clerk, II.i, pp. 18-19.

151. Printed Text, II, p. 481. Second Rough, II, p. 18, in D9, p. 311.

152. E.A. Wallis Budge, The Dwellers on the Nile, the Religious Tract Society, London, 1926, p. 197.

153. Ecynclopedia of Religion and Ethics, X, 490, Col. 2.

154. M. Eliade, op.cit., p. 278.

155. Printed Text, I, p. 446. Final Text, I, p. 2, in D9, p. 224.

156. Printed Text, I, p. 446. Final Text, I, p. 2, in D9, p. 224.

157. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 274.

158. Quoted in Ibid., p. 251.

159. Poems and Plays, p. 96.

160. A. Jeremias, The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East, I, translated from the German edition of 1904 by C.L. Beaumont, Williams & Norgate, London, 1911, p. 121.

161. Poems and Plays, p. 96.

162. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 271.

163. Printed Text, I, p. 446. Final Text, I, p. 2; in D9, p. 244.

164. Printed Text, I, p. 446. Final Text, I, p. 2, in D9, p. 224.

165. See Supra, p. 50.

166. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., pp. 294, 299.

167. Ibid., pp. 296-7.

168. See Supra, p. 64.

169. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 28.

170. Emphasis is mine.

171. Printed Text, III, p. 517. Acting Version, III, p. 35.

172. In Soleil et Chair, Rimbaud prefers the Goddess of love to Christ:

Je crois en toi! Je crois en toi! Divine mère,/Aphrodité marine! - Oh! la route est amère/Depuis que l'autre Dieu,

nous attelle a sa croix;/Chair, Marbre, Fleur, Vénus,
c'est en toi que je crois!

(Rimbaud, edited by Oliver Bernard, Penguin Books, London, 1962, p. 74.)

173. Sayce, op.cit., pp. 229-230.

174. See Supra, p.50 .

175. For the designation of the annual six months as the "Months of freedom" during which Tammuz reunited with Ishtar, see Sayce, op.cit., p. 230.

176. Printed Text, III, p. 515. Acting Version, III, p. 33.

177. Printed Text, III, p. 518. Final Text, III, p. 44, in D9, p. 606.

178. See Supra, p.44 .

179. Ragozin, op.cit., pp. 234-5.

180. A.R. Johnson, "Hebrew Conceptions of Kingship" in Myth, Ritual and Kingship, edited by S.H. Hooke, the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1958, p. 214.

181. E.A. Wallis Budge, Babylonian Life and History, p. 175.

182. Printed Text, II, p. 485. Acting version, II, pp. 22-23.

183. Quoted in Hartmut Schmökel, "Mesopotamian Texts", op.cit., p. 99.

184. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, III, 359, Col. 1.

185. Printed Text, II, p. 485. Acting version, II, p. 22.

186. Printed Text, II, p. 485. Acting version, II, p. 22.

CHAPTER 3

The Confidential Clerk: The Adaptation of the Sargon-Moses Legend II

This chapter is intended to be an extension of the previous one. In particular, it is meant to show how the Sargon legend is adapted by Eliot in a way which indicates that it has inspired the Moses legend. Our concern therefore in this chapter is to discuss not only the adaptation of the Moses legend and its evolution throughout the drafts, but also how the legend is shown to be an inversion of the Sargon legend. By the Moses legend, I mean the story of his birth, and exposure in the water of the Nile and his rescue. Our discussion will extend beyond this to include the adaptation of the narratives of his early life in the royal court, his adoption and instruction in the wisdom of the Egyptians by Pharaoh's daughter, the consecration of himself to God, the Father, and finally his mission of delivering the subjugated Hebrew which culminated in the exodus to Sinai. Throughout our discussion we shall notice the inversion of the Semitic goddess Ishtar, the deity of the chthonic religion who is the object of worship in the Sargon legend, and how the Semitic God had come to replace her.

* * *

The Moses legend of birth and exposure which is thought to be modelled on that of Sargon is incorporated in the Exodus narrative (2:1-10). In order to see the points of contact between the two legends, it is helpful to cite that of Moses as narrated by the Hebrew chronicler:

> And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took to wife a daughter of Levi. And the woman conceived,

> and bore a son: and when she could not longer hide him, she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch; and she put the child therein, and laid it in the flags by the river's brink. And his sister stood afar off, to know what would be done to him. And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river side; and she saw the ark among the flags, and sent her handmaid to fetch it. And she opened it, and saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said: This is one of the Hebrews' children. Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee? And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go, And the maid went and called the child's mother. And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child away and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it. And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name Moses, and said, Because I drew him out of the water.[1]

Comparing this story of Moses' birth and exposure with Sargon's, we are confronted with many similarities: first, the parents in both legends are not known to the hero. Second, the exposure of the infant in the water of the Eupherates - the Nile indicates the recurrent motif of water as the source of life. Third, the similarity with respect to the chest in which the child is laid: in both legends it is made of reed or bulrushes and closed with bitumen or pitch. Fourth, the divine deliverer is behind the myth of rescue, though in the Moses legend the Pharaoh's daughter takes the place of Ishtar. Fifth, the education of the hero in the royal court. Like Sargon who is caused by Ishtar to be engaged in the royal court of Ur-Zababa, Moses is brought by the

Pharaoh's daughter into the royal palace.

We have previously shown the influence upon Eliot of the writers who believe in the Sargon legend as the origin of the Moses legend.[2] Here before we embark upon the discussion of the adaptation of the Hebraic version of the Sargon legend, we ought to discuss briefly the writers who first noted the close similarity of the Sargon legend of birth and exposure with that of Moses, and their views of how the Babylonian legend reached the Hebrews. Apparently, the first critic to note the points of contact between the two legends was George Smith who first discovered Sargon's story of birth and life, inscribed on his statue in 1873.[3] A.H. Sayce has shown the features which the two legends have in common, and how the Moses legend is based on that of Sargon.[4] In 1902, Professor Cheyne wrote that Sargon's story of birth "was probably floating in popular Hebrew tradition, and when men began to ask what happened to Moses before he became Hobab's (or Jethro's) son-in-law, it occurred to a narrator to transfer it to the biography of Moses".[5] In 1911, Alfred Jeremias suggested that the Exodus chronicles had in mind the Sargon legend when he wrote the story of Moses' birth and exposure.[6] More important for its impact on Eliot is Frazer's view of the Moses' legend. In 1918, he urged that the

> story of the exposure of the infant Sargon in a basket of rushes on the river closely resembles the story of the exposure of the infant Moses among the flags of the Nile, and as it is to all appearance very much older than the Hebrew tradition, the authors of Exodus may perhaps have been acquainted with it and may have modelled their narrative of the episode on the Babylonian original.[7]

The unanimous view of the critics above mentioned as to the modelling of the Moses legend on that of Sargon is highly tenable. It is true that the exposure of the divine hero has its parallels in many mythical figures, such as Dionysos, Perseus, Remus, Romulus and so forth. However no culture had so deeply influenced the Hebrews as that of the Babylonians. Babylonian legends, such as that of Sargon, reached Canaan as a result of the Western conquests of Sargon himself and his successors.[8] Abraham and his nomad fellows may have heard the legends in Ur of the Chaldees, carrying them in their wanderings, and continued to retain them during their long subsequent history.[9] Despite the assumption that the Moses legend is based on Sargon's, the Biblical scene of the former legend is set in Egypt; and we therefore expect the dramatization of certain Egyptian features pertaining to the Hebraic legend.

* * *

We turn now to the discussion of the adaptation of the Moses legend of birth and an early life in the original version of The Confidential Clerk. To spell out the legend: Colby is Moses; Lady Elizabeth is Pharaoh's daughter; Mrs. Guzzard is Jochebed, and Eggerson is Yahweh. Oddly enough, the play in its original version reveals the obscure origin of Colby-Moses in just the same way as Sargon's.[10] Colby is thought by Sir Claude to be his son. His wife, too, on realizing that Colby has been brought up by a Mrs. Guzzard of Teddington, lays maternal claims to him, supposing that he is her illegitimate son by her lover who entrusted him to her. Yet, Lady Elizabeth lost trace of her

son, as a consequence of the untimely death of her lover. The paternal and maternal claims of Sir Claude and Lady Elizabeth on Colby turn however upside down, when Mrs. Guzzard contends that Colby is her son by her husband. Nevertheless, Mrs. Guzzard's contention makes Colby's origin rather obscure. There is no substantial evidence that Colby is the legitimate son of Mrs. Guzzard by her husband, neither of whom expected children because of the husband's age. Meanwhile, if we accept the view of those critics, such as Frazer, that Moses' legitimacy is doubtful, a view which implies that he is the illegitimate offspring of Pharaoh's daughter,[11] we might explain Lady Elizabeth's claim that Colby is her son by the seducer whom she met before her marriage.

Viewed in this perspective, Colby's ambiguous birth echoes that of Moses which makes the latter, according to Jeremias, the hero of the new age who "is of mysterious birth. Even when the story knows the name of the father, he is designated as 'fatherless'. It has long been noted that the relationship added from P1 of Amram and Jochebed [Exod. vi.20] do not agree."[12] Jeremias, then, draws upon the blessing of Moses, the tradition of which in Deut. (33.9) has retained the fatherless birth: "Who said of his father, and of his mother, I have not seen them."[13] In this respect, Moses' birth, concludes Jeremias, is similar to that of the Babylonian hero who addresses Ishtar. "I have no mother, thou art my mother; I have no father, thou art my father ... in the holy place hast thou borne me."[14] According to Numb. III:27 §§; Amram can scarcely have been Moses' father. Hence the close affinity between him and Sargon, for the latter, as we have seen, did not know his father either.

When the Lady Elizabeth of the Ur-Clerk convinced herself that Colby is her son, despite Mrs. Guzzard's contention that he is her own,[15] it seems that Eliot is under the influence of Sigmund Freud's view that the Jews inverted the birth myth of the divine child by making the first family a humble one and the second family aristocratic. For he admits that the first family of nearly every divine hero into which he is born is aristocratic, and the second family which raises him up is a humble one.[16] In so saying, Freud is influenced by Eduard Meyer's argument that the Pharaoh had been warned by a prophetic dream that a son born to his daughter would endanger him and his Kingdom. He therefore gave orders that the child had to be exposed. However the Levites rescued him and brought him up as their own son.[17]

That Eliot appears to be impressed by Freud's argument may be explained by our application of the typical legend of the birth of the divine hero, in which Moses fits, to Colby. This typical legend which Meyer laid down, is made use of by Freud in his contention that Moses as divine hero and founder of the Israelite nation echoes other divine heroes, such as Sargon of Accad. We might do well to cite the motifs of the typical legend in order to see how far the Colby of the original version can fit in.

- "The hero is the child of the most aristocratic parents; usually the son of a King."
- "His conception is preceded by difficulties, such as abstinence or prolonged barrenness or his parents having to have intercourse in secret owing to external prohibitions or obstacles. During the pregnancy or even earlier, there

is a prophecy (in the form of a dream or oracle) cautioning against his birth, usually threatening danger to his father."

- "As a result of this the new-born child is condemned to death or exposure, usually by the orders of his father or of someone representing him; as a rule he is given over to the water in a casket."
- "He is afterwards rescued by animals or by humble people (such as shepherds) and is suckled by a female animal or by a humble woman."
- "After he has grown up, he rediscovers his aristocratic parents after highly variegated experiences, takes his revenge on his father, on the one hand, and is acknowledged on the other and achieves greatness and fame."[18]

To what extent the Colby of the original version accords with this legend will appear from our ensuing discussion. To begin with the first motif; Colby/Moses is the child of "the aristocratic family", as his mother is Lady Elizabeth/the Pharaoh's daughter. That Lady Elizabeth is meant to be the Pharaoh's daughter who had had illicit intercourse with one of her contemporaries there is no doubt. The original version describes her as "a princess, of a very great family";[19] yet she was, before her marriage, "an impulsive girl. So reckless of consequences",[20] a description which is subsequently dropped in an attempt to camouflage the outright analogy between Lady Elizabeth and the royal princess. Lady Elizabeth confides to Colby that his father was "really very attractive";[21] a justification for her escapade. Here lies the overt allusion to the royal family of Pharaoh as the real aristocratic people to whom Colby-Moses belongs. In this respect, Pharaoh's daughter

is the counterpart of Sargon's mother, the princess. Thus, the hero in both Babylonian and Hebraic legends belongs by birth to the aristocratic family; while the nursing family, the Akki and the Levites, is the humble one.

The second and third motifs of the average legend deal with the difficulties which precede the conception of the hero, along with his exposure and rescue. Just as Freud's version of Moses suggests that the hero is born as a consequence of the illicit union which Pharaoh's daughter had had, probably with one of the guards of the royal palace, Eliot's version of Colby-Moses shows him as Lady Elizabeth's illegitimate son by Captain Deverell - subsequently replaced by Tony,[22] who was "A guardsman of a very good family."[23] The 'Ur-Clerk introduces the reason par excellence, which prevents the marriage of the hero's mother with his father. The version has Lady Elizabeth admit that Captain Deverell "was already married" when she fell in love with him.[24] Here lie the prohibitions which, according to the "average legend", precede the conception of the hero. According to the legend, too, the hero's birth is a menace to his aristocratic family, and to his father. How far this applies to the Freudian version of Moses appears from the prophetic dream which the Pharaoh had: that "a son born to his daughter would bring danger to him and his Kingdom".[25] As for Eliot's version of Colby-Moses, his birth seemed to have been a menace to the life of his supposed father, Lady Elizabeth's seducer, as he is "run over by an omnibus"[26] - "an omnibus" is subsequently replaced by "a rhinoceros".[27] The exposure of Colby by his father arises, therefore, from the mythological belief that the child is a menace to him. The implication we may deduce from

the average legend and the site of Teddington by the river Thames is that the father, Lady Elizabeth's seducer, exposed the infant Colby in a casket which he submitted to the water of the Thames. However, instead of perishing, the babe floated ashore. As Mrs. Guzzard, the gooseherd, chanced to be on the shore, she picked up the casket and rescued the child. Apparently the father was waiting to watch over the destiny of the infant. On realizing that the child was miraculously saved by Mrs. Guzzard, the father arranged with her to raise him, provided that he would pay her regularly.[28] The Mrs. Guzzard of the "First Draft" admits that she came into contact with the father. The arrangement of nursing the child, says Mrs. Guzzard, was made with Captain Deverell whom she always suspected of being the father.[29] The point we are driving at is this: the rescue of Colby despite the father's attempt to do away with him by throwing him into the water for fear of the danger to be brought by the infant on the father, is in conformity with the myth of the birth of the divine hero. In particular, Colby recalls the Freudian version of Moses as well as the other mythical heroes, such as Sargon, Dionysos, Remus, Romulus, and so forth. In each case, the father, remarks O. Rank, is threatened through the expected son. He therefore "causes the exposure of the boy who pursues and menaces him in all sorts of ways after his unlooked-for rescue, but finally succumbs to his son, according to the prophecy".[30] Although there is no overt reference in the Sargon legend to the father's attempt to murder the infant, we might contend that it was his uncle, identified by A. Jeremias with Marduk, the brother of Sargon's mother,[31] who seemed to have caused his exposure. In this respect, Moses-

Colby resembles Sargon. Also, he recalls Dionysos whose grandfather, Kadmus, says Pausanias, put him into a chest which was carried by the waves to Brasiae.[32]

The last motif of the "average legend" deals with the rediscovery by the hero of his aristocratic parents after he has grown up; his parents' acknowledgement of him and finally his achievement of greatness and fame. In the case of Eliot's Colby/Moses, the hero, on reaching manhood, is brought to the house of his first family, the aristocratic one to which he belongs by birth. In an encounter with him, his mother, Lady Elizabeth/the Pharaoh's daughter asks him questions about his parentage and early life. On realizing that he is brought up by a Mrs. Guzzard of Teddington/a Levite woman of Goshen, she at once recognizes him as her son. For the mention of the name of the woman and the place by Colby brings to her memory once again these two names confided to her by her lover after he had assigned the infant to a foster mother.[33] Nevertheless, Colby/Moses insists that he has to leave for Joshua Park/Canaan in favour of Eggerson/Yahweh to whom he consecrates himself, achieving therefore fame and greatness.

The acknowledgement of Colby/Moses as a well-bred important personality by Lady Elizabeth has its genesis in the original version. In her scene with Colby, Lady Elizabeth warns him not to mix with B. Kaghan and Lucasta for they are not his sort at all, as they are "rather worldly and materialistic, / And ... well, rather vulgar."[34] She recognizes him as "well bred" intellectual person. She, therefore, wants him in the first place to

> mix with people of breeding.

> I said to myself, when I first saw you,
> 'He is very well bred' ....
> .....
> And, second, you need intellectual society.
> .....
> You need intellectual, well-bred people
> Of spirituality.[35]

To be recognized as a well-bred, intellectual person, Colby recalls the divine hero in general and Moses in particular. Sargon's greatness had been recognized by people at home and abroad, and those who opposed him were punished with death.[36] More analogous to Colby is Freud's version of Moses as an intellectual well-bred person on which Eliot seemed to have drawn in writing the recognition scene between Lady Elizabeth and Colby. According to Freud, Moses was recognized as "an aristocratic and prominent man, perhaps in fact a member of the royal house ... He was undoubtedly aware of his great capacities." Further Lady Elizabeth's exhortation of Colby to mix with intellectual people, along with her exultation that both of them "are nearer to God than to anyone"[37] on the ground of their intellectual capacities and social status reminds us of Ikhnaton's monotheistic religion and the type of people who believed in it. It was the ruling people, writes Freud, and the individuals of the intellectually active upper stratum that adhered to and steadfastly supported the monotheistic religion of Ikhnaton.[38] On the other hand, that new religion of Ikhnaton which "remained restricted to a narrow circle surrounding the King's person"[39] did not occupy the hearts of the common people whose prototypes in Eliot's play can be found in B. Kaghan and Lucasta who, as Lady Elizabeth is made to remark, are "rather worldly and materialistic".[40]

It appears from our discussion that Colby, like Moses, fits in the pattern of the average legend of the divine hero, provided that he belongs by birth to Lady Elizabeth, who is modelled on Pharaoh's daughter, the supposed mother of Moses.[41] In short, the application of the average legend to Colby-Moses suggests the impact of Freud's discussion on the shaping of The Confidential Clerk. In other words, it shows how far Eliot was impressed by Freud's opinion that Moses was an Egyptian prince. Whether Eliot shared Freud's belief that the religion which Moses imposed on the oppressed Hebrews is that of the Egyptian sun-god Aton of Ikhnaton, we cannot tell for certain.

* * *

In addition to the adaptation of the Moses legend according to Freud's analysis, we can identify the demonstration of certain features of the Moses legend in terms of the Israelite tradition and beliefs. According to the Hebrew literature, the Pharaoh's daughter was always depressed on account of her childlessness. In one of her fits of melancholy, she "left her house to seek solace for her aching heart in God's free nature. She betook herself to the river where she found the infant Moses."[42] The description of the Pharaoh's daughter as depressed and melancholic on account of her childlessness has its counterpart in Lady Elizabeth's boredom and depression which are the chief cause of her wanderings on the Continent. The Lady Elizabeth of the original version felt so disappointed because of having no children that she resorted to 'health cures' in an attempt to get rid of her feeling of despondency. The opening scene of the original

version, subsequently deleted, introduces her and her husband. She is preparing herself for her medical trip to Switzerland. The following exchanges between her and her husband occur before her departure:

> Sir Claude: ... I don't like you being in the clutches of an analyst.
>
> Lady E.: But I told you, Leronx is <u>not</u> an analyst. What he does is to teach you thought control. He's not concerned with what you think about.[43]

Also, the <u>Ur-Clerk</u> lays emphasis on Lady Elizabeth's melancholy on account of her childlessness. Her scene with Sir Claude which begins act III - subsequently deleted probably to suppress the overt allusion to Pharaoh's daughter - shows how disappointed Lady Elizabeth is at having no children. As a result, she adapted the belief that parentage is only an illusion, and our real parentage was the life we had led in previous existence.[44] Only when she found Colby to whom she laid maternal claims, did Lady Elizabeth feel "so happy" and decide to adopt him.[45] However Sir Claude, who supposes that Colby is his son, a supposition which he kept hidden from his wife, confronts her with his claim. The couple, therefore, enter into sharp conflict over the supposed son.[46]

This brings us to the theme of jealousy between the childless married couple over the son of one or the other, which recalls the jealousy between Pharaoh's daughter and her husband over Moses. The husband of Pharaoh's daughter, says one version of the Moses legend, was so envious of his step-son that he sought to slay him on some possible pretext. He, therefore, sent Moses in command of forces against the Ethiopians who

invaded Egypt. The forces he sent under his command consisted mainly of a body of husbandmen who were untrained, hoping that through their weakness, Moses would be easily destroyed by his enemy. Despite Moses' victorious return, the husband continued to plot against him in an attempt to kill him.[47]

In The Confidential Clerk there is a close resemblance between Sir Claude and the husband of the Pharaoh's daughter who wanted to destroy Moses. Lady Elizabeth accuses Sir Claude of choosing the "primrose yellow" colour, with which Colby's flat in the mews is painted, in order to harm the young man: "A primitive yellow / Would be absolutely baneful to Mr. Colby",[48] she warns her husband. The conflict between Sir Claude and Lady Elizabeth permeates the whole text. On seeing Colby, after her return from abroad, Lady Elizabeth immediately takes interest in him, in just the same way as the Pharaoh's daughter treated Moses. The Pharaoh's daughter, writes Ginzberg, "perceiving Moses to be an extraordinary lad, adopted him as her son, for she had no child of her own".[49] Similarly, Colby impressed Lady Elizabeth as an exceptional person: "He has a good aura",[50] she confides to her husband. When she lays claim to Colby as her son, her husband becomes so jealous that he tells his wife about his past illicit union with Mrs. Guzzard [who is replaced by her sister in the "Second Rough"] and the belief that Colby is his son. However his wife discredits his story, for she believes that he had been beguiled by "two wicked women" viz. Mrs. Guzzard and her assistant;[51] a reflection perhaps on Jochebed and her daughter Miriam, who persuaded the princess to let them nurse the child for her in return of payment.[52]

Other features of the traditional legend of Moses which

have close parallels in The Confidential Clerk are related to the Hebrew parentage of the hero. Jochebed has her counterpart in Mrs. Guzzard. The latter's original name in the sketch plan of characters is "Mrs. Mūss",[53] which recalls the Levite Jochebed, the supposed mother of Moses. The name "Mūss" alludes to the marshy infertile land of Goshen in the eastern part of the Delta where the Hebrews sojourned in Egypt.[54] Before writing the prose outline, Eliot revised the sketch plan of characters. The outcome of this revision is that "Mrs. Moss" is replaced by "Mrs. Guzzard".[55] The name "Guzzard" signifies "gooseherd", the old English form of which is "gos + hierde",[56] a meaning which throws light on the connection between the Guzzards and the Hebrew Levites who were also herdsmen looking after domestic animals and birds.[57] The Egyptian Hebrew immigrants, it should be noted, lived as nomads in the Goshen region where a canal ran from the Nile along Wadi Tumilat down to the Bitter Lakes.[58] This canal had a little herbage along its banks for the nomads' sheep, while the whole region north and south was a desert.[59]

Mrs. Guzzard, as a name, is a reflection on the Egyptian deity Amon, just as Jochebed as a name is a reflection on Yahweh. As mentioned above, "Guzzard" signifies "gooseherd", and "goose" was one of the emblems of Amon, replaced in later times by the "ram". As one critic notes, "By the time the records begin, the goose form had almost disappeared; little remained but the two pinion feathers worn on the head of the god when in human form, the epithet of the 'Great Cackler', and rare representations of him as an actual goose."[60] To give the Guzzards a name which has connection with the ancient Egyptian

god Amon is not without reason. Eliot seems to have in mind Freud's notion that the substitution of the religion of Amon for that of Aton after the death of Ikhnaton induced Moses, who adopted the latter religion, to revive it among the Hebrews of Goshen.[61] Hence Mrs. Guzzard has her counterpart in Jochebed and the other hebrew immigrants chosen by Moses to be the people on whom he had to impose his favourite monotheistic religion.[62]

Like Mrs. Guzzard whose name sheds light on the deity Amon, Jochebed as a name has connection with the Lord Yahweh. W. McKane urges that "Yokebed", the Hebrew form of "Jochebed" (Exod. 6:20; Numb. 26:59) "apparently has a theophoric name with a shortened form of YHWH."[63] Martin Buber, too, remarks that Jochebed is the only personal name during the pre-Mosaic period, recorded as having been formed with the divine name, for it means "Yhvh is weighty".[64]

Like Mrs. Guzzard too, Jochebed is a baby-farmer. Jochebed and her daughter Miriam are believed to have run a baby farm because of the alleged brutality of the Pharaoh, who decreed the death of the male infants of the Hebrews for fear of their increasing population which might threaten his Kingdom. She and her daughter therefore attended surreptitiously to the Hebrew infants whom they fed, washed and bathed.[65] If a Hebrew mother, who had given birth to a child, lacked food and drink, Moses' mother went to well-to-do women and took up a collection that the infant might not suffer want.[66] In a similar manner, Mrs. Guzzard attended to new born infants. As shown in the previous chapter, the original version, which is reproduced in the finished text, describes her as a person who is in charge of a baby-farm, attending to other people's children.[67]

Further, Mrs. Guzzard who nurses Colby, her son, for the Mulhammers echoes Jochebed who nurses Moses her son for the royal family. The Hebrew legend which states that Moses is the son of the Levite Jochebed whom she nursed for Pharaoh's daughter, appears to have its origin, urges O. Rank, in the Egyptian-Phoenician myth of Osiris-Adonis. This latter myth suggests that Osiris encased in a chest, floats down the river and is finally found under the name Adonis by Isis who is asked by Queen Astarte to nurse the child for her.[68]

If Mrs. Guzzard resembles Jochebed, Herbert Guzzard, the supposed father of Colby, recalls Amram, the supposed father of Moses, with respect to piety and dotage. Amram, according to the Hebrew traditions, belongs to the tribe of Levi, distinguished for its piety. Being "immaculate, untainted by sin"; he was prominent even among the pious of the tribe; and on account of his piety, the Hebrews believed that Israel was redeemed from Egypt.[69] Herbert Guzzard was keen on religious matters, such as the task of baptizing children: as he was not sure that B. Kaghan had been baptized, when the latter was entrusted to his wife, Guzzard arranged for conditional baptism, giving him a Hebrew name "Barnabas"; "A very good name", says Mrs. Guzzard, of which "He ought to be proud".[70]

The other point of similarity between Herbert Guzzard and Amram is related to the feat of begetting a child at an advanced age. Although there is no biblical reference to Amram's dotage when Moses was born, T.K. Cheyne, who traces the Moses story to the birth of the legendary hero by divine intervention, suggests that the Hebrews might have supposed that Amram, like Abram (Gen. XVII:17) was advanced in years when he begot Moses.[71] If

it be so, Amram, then, resembles Herbert Guzzard whose original version describes him as older than his wife when the latter conceived Colby, their supposed son: "He was a good deal older than I", confesses Mrs. Guzzard.[72]

* * *

We turn to the discussion of Colby's relationship with Eggerson which echoes that of Moses to Yahweh. Yahweh revealed Himself to Moses commanding him to deliver the oppressed Hebrews in Egypt and bring them into the land which He promised Abraham and his seed, a divine message which he fulfilled. In so doing Moses preferred Yahweh to the then current Egyptian religion, especially that of the chthonic Isis and Osiris. Moses' preference for Yahweh has its counterpart in that of Colby for Eggerson whom he chooses as spiritual father. Like Yahweh who revealed Himself to Moses, Eggerson disclosed his affectionate attitude to Colby, together with the desire to protect him: "It's reassuring", confides Colby to Eggerson, "to know that I have you always at my back / If I get into trouble."[73] Hence it is not odd that Colby-Moses prefers Eggerson-Yahweh to anyone, a preference which motivates him to leave Egypt-London for Joshua Park-Canaan. At this level, Joshua Park stands for Israel. The name "Joshua" is Hebrew, means "Yahweh delivers".[74] Also Joshua is another name for Yahweh himself.[75] "Park" in "Joshua Park" can be used at the Hellenic level to denote the garden of the Earth-Goddess where Eggerson, the Cretan Zeus spends most of his time.[76] At the Babylonian levels "Park" is the garden of Ishtar. Here "Park" may suggest the "Garden of Eden", the

abode of Yahweh. What concerns us here is the name "Joshua" which, as above said, means "God delivers", a meaning which may be a reflection on Moses' deliverance of the Jews. The play in its original version suggests the deed of deliverance. Colby, as previously seen, chose the mighty one Eggerson-Yahweh as Father, and made up his mind to follow in His footsteps. The final curtain of the Ur-Clerk falls on Colby's promise that he will leave for Joshua Park to join Eggerson on the following day as he has to return with Mrs. Guzzard to Teddington.[77] His refusal to depart to Joshua Park unless he returns with Mrs. Guzzard to Teddington-Goshen brings to our mind Moses' attempt to persuade his foster people, the Levites, to join him when he departs to Joshua Park-Israel. As Colby-Moses is a convinced adherent of the Yahweh religion of Eggerson, he has to devise the plan of founding a new Kingdom, of finding a new people to whom he would present for their worship his favourite religion in which God, the Father replaces the Mother Goddess. only when the "Second Rough" was drafted, did Eliot leave out Colby's return to Teddington with Mrs. Guzzard before his departure to Joshua Park. Nevertheless the Colby of the "Acting Version" shows how eager he is to see Mrs. Guzzard home. Her request of him to get her a taxi to go to "Waterloo" is perhaps a reflection on the preparation for the exodus to enter Canaan by force, as is apparent from the ensuing exchanges which follow on Colby's decision to adhere to Eggerson/Yahweh and propagate his religion:

> Mrs. Guzzard: I shall return to Teddington. Colby,
> Will you get me a taxi to go to Waterloo?
> Colby: Get you a taxi? Yes, Aunt Sarah;
> But I should see you home.
> Mrs. Guzzard: Home? Only to a taxi.[78]

There is one aspect of the nature of Eggerson-Yahweh which makes him appear as a vegetation god.[79] Eggerson's interest in gardening and his desire to make Colby a gardener recall the early phase of the chthonic character of Yahweh who planted a garden eastward in Eden, where he put the man whom he had formed, "to dress it and keep it".[80] In his comment on this passage T.K. Cheyne notes not only its contradiction with the Ezekiel narration,[81] but how the Genesis chronicler inverted the original story of Sargon of Accad., in the sense that Mother-Goddess Ishtar is replaced by God, the Father:

> We are told that Yahweh-Elohim planted a garden for the sake of the man. This view is quite different from that of Ezekiel. Thereupon Adam became his gardener ... Precisely so the legend of Sargon I makes the King say, 'My service as a gardener was pleasing unto Ishtar, and I became King.'[82]

Eggerson's relationship to Mrs. E., who is Eggerson's wife on the surface level echoes the sacred marriage between Yahweh and Ishtar; the latter being reduced to a mere consort of the Almighty God.[83] Despite the supremacy of the goddess in the earliest time of the ancient near East, her worship gradually deteriorated as a result of the emergence of the concept of the Fatherhood of God.

In a similar manner, the Eggerson of the Ur-Clerk has come to replace Mrs. E., the Earth-Goddess. The garden which is originally her primitive abode has been usurped by him as a consequence of the rise of patriarchy which coincides with the upgrowth of God, the Father. This explains why Eggerson alludes to his wife as being jealous of his garden on which she is prohibited to set foot,[84] an allusion which is left out in the

"Second Rough", apparently for the purpose of disguising the inversion of the Earth-Goddess. In addition, Eggerson casually remarks that his garden protects him against Mrs. E.[85] The garden, here, as Eggerson's protector, may recall the Garden of Eden with its Tree of Life by means of which he achieves immortality. In other words, the Tree of Life is the special prerogative of Eggerson-Yahweh. He is keen on not allowing Mrs. E. or Eve the least opportunity to touch it lest she should be immortal like him. Eggerson's remark on his being the sole possessor of the garden suggests the restrictions which the Great Being imposed on the Tree of Life whose original idea, according to Cheyne, is that "for a man to eat of the magic fruit would result (as the serpent rightly affirms) in such a heightening of the vitality as would render him "ageless and immortal".[86] Note that Eggerson, unlike his fellow characters is not given specific age in the sketch plan of characters which is earlier than the prose outline.[87] Further, Eggerson's allusion to the garden as his protector may elicit another interpretation. It seems to suggest the Semitic concept of the garden as signifying "protection". The Semitic word for "garden" derives from the root "ganan" which means "cover", or "protect".[88]

Just as Eggerson's sacred relation to Mrs. E. echoes that of Yahweh to Ishtar, so Colby's expected reunion with Mrs. E. seems to recall that of Moses with Zipporah. Moses' connection with his wife Zipporah is said to be modelled on Thot's sacred marriage to Hathor who is identified with Ishtar. In Daniel Völter's view, there is a striking parallel between Moses and Zipporah on the one hand, and Thot and Hathor on the other.[89]

If we accept the view that Moses' marriage to Zipporah is based on that of Thot to Hathor, we may find an explanation for Colby's objection to human marriage in favour of his sacred marriage to Mrs. E./Hathor-Ishtar, just as Sargon is believed to have divinely married the latter.[90] Similarly Colby echoes Moses, the lawgiver who, like the Egyptian Thot and the Babylonian Sargon was an advocate of learning and teaching mankind.[91]

* * *

So far, we have seen that the Ur-Clerk adapts, to a large extent, the Hebraic version of the Sargon legend. Just as in Sargon's case, the birth of Moses and his exposure are the most conspicuous details which the original version demonstrates. the recurrent motifs of this myth reconstructed and applied to Moses by Freud are also applicable to Colby. The myth lays emphasis on the royal princess, the supposed mother of Moses, who, according to A. Jeremias, takes the place of Ishtar in the Sargon legend.[92] However, unlike Sargon to whom Ishtar assigned the divine message, Moses was made to receive the call from the divine Father.[93] In addition, Jeremias urges that since the chronicler of Exod. ii. knew the story of Sargon of Accad, it is very probable that in the name Mosheh the motif of the gardener was in his mind.[94] However the adaptation of the Moses' story of birth and an early life according to O. Rank's average legend of exposure and deliverance does not mean the exclusion of the traditional legend of Moses in terms of the Hebraic literature. On the contrary, a great deal of the Moses'

legend, according to the Israelite traditions, has found its way into the Ur-Clerk, such as the melancholic fits which seized Pharaoh's daughter - Lady Elizabeth on account of her childlessness; the rivarly between her and her husband - Sir Claude over Moses-Colby; and the emphatic illustration of the humble family, the Levites - the Guzzards who laid parental claims to the hero. Indeed the Guzzards have their close prototypes in the Levite Jochebed and Amram. Both families have many traits in common. As we have seen, Mrs. Guzzard's role as baby-farmer closely resembles Jochebed's; Herbert Guzzard's piety and dotage are analogous to Amram. Eggerson, as aforesaid, represents Yahweh, especially the Yahweh of the earlier times when he was considered the gardener of the universe.[95] These are the salient points of contact between the dramatis personae and their counterparts in the Moses legend as adapted in the Ur-Clerk.

* * *

We turn now to the discussion of the changes made in the "Second Rough" and their impact on the development of the Moses legend. A priori, these changes consist mainly of deletions and additions. With respect to the deletions, the most notable ones occur in the scenes where there are overt allusions to the legend, such as the reference to Lady Elizabeth as "a reckless" princess; to Mrs. Guzzard and the other woman as "wicked", an epithet which characterizes, too, Jochebed and her daughter who deluded Pharaoh's daughter by making her wrongly believe that the babe Moses is not related to them, to Herbert Guzzard as

old, and to his wife as being unfaithful to him. It may seem that Eliot deliberately suppressed these allusions to make it difficult to recognize the adaptation of the Hebraic version of the Sargon legend in the play in its finished form. However the revision of the original version in the form of what Eliot calls the "Second Rough" has resulted in the enhancement of certain elements relating to the characters that develop the legend. the major additions are made to Lady Elizabeth - the royal princess; to Colby-Moses, and to Eggerson-Yahweh.

As for the Lady Elizabeth of the "Second Rough", we discern that she has been substantially revised with a view to giving her further traits which bring her closer to Pharaoh's daughter, such as her manifest remark on her adoption of Colby-Moses; her belief in the only God, and her desire to teach Colby. With respect to her adoption of Colby, the "Second Rough" makes her assume the role of the royal princess who, according to some critics, was the true mother of Moses. Yet she tried to disguise the truth by making him appear to be her adopted son. To a large extend Lady Elizabeth echoes the royal princess when she decides to adopt Colby despite her belief that he is her son:

> But of course I want to adopt him (i.e. Colby) ...
> That is, if one's allowed to adopt one's own child.[96]

The question now is this: who was that Pharaoh's daughter who adopted Moses? According to several critics, it was Hetshepsut, the sister and wife of Thothmes III, who lived about 1500 B.C.[97] In view of T.H. Robinson and A.S. Yahuda, Moses' exodus took place in the fifteenth century B.C., i.e. around the time of Hetshepsut,[98] and accordingly the Pharaoh of oppression was

Thothmes III, the brother and husband of Hetshepsut.[99] If it be Hetshepsut who adopted Moses, her son, we then understand the resemblance between her and Lady Elizabeth. Hetshepsut, it should be noted, indignantly disavowed her earthly parents, giving out the tale that she was actually the daughter of the god Amen, as is evidenced by its inscription on the walls of her mortuary temple.[100] How far Hetshepsut believed that she was the daughter of Amen; a belief which has its impact on the portrayal of Lady Elizabeth, is explained by J.G. Frazer. In his account of the Egyptian ritual of the marriage of the god Amen to the Queen of Egypt, Frazer urges that at Thebes a woman slept at the temple of this deity as the consort of the god, and like the human wife of Bel at Babylon, she was thought to have no connection with a man. This woman, according to Egyptian texts, is described as the divine consort and she is no less a personage than the Queen of Egypt herself. Amen, therefore, was said to have assumed the guise of the reigning Pharaoh and had intercourse with the Queen, whose children were considered the divine offspring of this deity.[101] Hence the justification of Hetshepsut's tale that she was Amen's daughter.

In this respect we may explain Lady Elizabeth's idiosyncratic belief that she is the divine offspring of God. Like Hetshepsut, Lady Elizabeth scornfully rejects the idea of belonging to earthly parentage. She confides to Colby that she

> didn't want to belong there. I refused to believe
> That my father could have been an ordinary earl!
> And I couldn't believe that my mother <u>was</u> my mother.[102]

Having impugned her earthly parentage, the Lady Elizabeth of the "Second Rough" proceeds to remark implicitly on her belief that

she is the daughter of God, in just the same way as Hetshepsut who apparently believed not only in Amon as her real father, but also in reincarnation.[103] Thus the Lady Elizabeth of the version under consideration urges Colby that

> one's earthly parents
> Are only the means that we have to employ
> To become reincarnate. And that one's real ancestry
> Is one's previous existence. Of course there's
> something in us,
> In all of us, which isn't just heredity,
> But something unique. Something we have been
> From eternity. Something ... straight from God.
> That means that we are nearer to God than to anyone.[104]

In addition to Lady Elizabeth's exhortation of Colby to believe in the Fatherhood of God rather than in the earthly parentage; an exhortation which makes her appear as the prototype of Hetshepsut, she also echoes the royal princess who had Moses instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, just as Ishtar had Sargon instructed in the royal court of Ur-Zababa, a King of the fourth dynasty of Kish.[105] As for the instruction of Moses in the Egyptian royal court, we read in Acts:

> And when he (Moses) was cast out, Pharaoh's daughter took him up, and nourished him for her own son. And Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; and he was mighty in his words and works.[106]

Just as the royal princess had Moses instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and the royal court, so the Lady Elizabeth of the "Second Rough" wants Colby to take interest in "Light from the East" and the "Wisdom of Atlantis".[107] In other words, she wants to teach him the wisdom of the ancient

Egyptians which underlies the phrase "Light from the East".[108] As for the "Wisdom of Atlantis" to which Eliot also refers in "East Coker"(1940),[109] it seems to be a reflection on Solon's indebtedness (in Plato's Timaeus and the Critias) to the Egyptian priest who disclosed to him the scientific data as to the whereabouts of the island of Atlantis which sank in the ocean about 9000 B.C. Also the Egyptian priest is thought to have given the rationalistic theory of the periodic world cataclysms as the cause of its sinking in the ocean.[110]

One further trait given to the Lady Elizabeth of the "Second Rough" is related to her interest in music. Her fascination with music makes her resemble the High Priestess of Amen, a title which was held by the Queen, Pharaoh's wife. The Ur-Clerk designates Lady Elizabeth as a priestess, a designation which is deleted in the same version. Instead, the "Second Rough" portrays her, as previously seen, as the divine offspring of God, just like Hetshepsut whose mother, the queen, apparently assumed the role of the high priestess of Amen, and she bore the title "Wife of the God", and was accordingly equated with Hathor, the consort of the Sun-god.[111] In addition, Lady Elizabeth's interest in music brings her closer to the Egyptian priestesses of the eighteenth dynasty as they were preoccupied with music which came to be associated with the worship of Amen.[112] Lady Elizabeth's interest in music is referred to by Sir Claude who expects that she will be favourably impressed by Colby on the ground of his musical talent:

> Sir C. [to Eggerson]: ... By the way, don't forget
> To let her [Lady E.] know that he's very musical.
> She can take him to concerts. But don't
> overdo it.[113]

* * *

If the Lady Elizabeth of the "Second Rough" has been given further qualities to match her with the royal princess, the Colby of the same version is modelled on his prototype Moses as to the latter's wandering in the Sinai desert with the oppressed Hebrews for forty years after they had crossed the Egyptian frontiers.[114] The allusion to Colby's withdrawal into the desert is given to B. Kaghan who anticipates that:

> He's the sort of fellow who might chuck it all
> And go to live on a desert island.[115]

Apart from the prediction that Colby will be wandering in the Sinai desert, Colby echoes Moses in respect of his intended visit to Eggerson's garden, just as the Hebraic prophet is thought to have been taken for a visit to Yahweh's Garden of Eden. In the "First Draft" Colby, when he arrives at Joshua Park, will be admitted to the garden of Eggerson, for the latter intends to show it to him.[116] In this respect, Colby recalls Moses whom Yahweh allowed to be carried to the Garden of Eden by Shamshiel, its guardian angel, who showed him several wonders.[117] The "Second Rough" enhances not only Colby's interest in Eggerson-Yahweh, but also his need for a garden without toil which is to be created by divine power. Note that, for the Hebrews, nothing is so disgusting and troublesome as the cultivation of the land, a burden which the Lord imposed on Adam as a punishment for his sin.[118] Colby confides to Lucasta the idealistic image of the garden in which "God would walk" with him, "And that would make the world outside it real / And acceptable, I think".[119] This type of garden in which "God would walk" with him is apparently a reflection on the Garden of Eden in which Adam and Eve "heard the voice of the Lord God

walking in the garden in the cool of the day".[120] The idea of a deity who walks in the garden among trees is originally Babylonian, for it can be traced as far back as the garden of Eridu, the primitive home of Ishtar which subsequently came to be regarded as "the walking place of Ea", the god of fertility and of the civilizing sciences (arts, agriculture, the skills of writing and so forth). This is apparent from a Babylonian incantation, an exerpt of which is rendered as follows:

> In Eridu [the centre of the world] there grows a black
> Kiskanu, it was made in a holy place;
> Its radiance is of shining lapis-Lazuli, it stretches
> towards the apsu (the ocean)
> It is the walking place of Ea in rich Eridu.[121]

* * *

With respect to the Eggerson of the "Second Rough", the largest addition is intended to make him appear as Yahweh who superseded the Earth-Goddess, as is apparent from Colby's remark on Eggerson's garden:

> ... he [Eggerson] retires to his garden - literally,
> .....
> But he doesn't feel alone there. And when he comes out
> He has marrows, or beetroot, or peas ... for Mrs. Eggerson.[122]

Eggerson's retirement to his garden without feeling lonely suggests the retirement of Yahweh to his Garden of Eden from which he ousts Mrs. E./the Earth-Goddess. The reflection on Eggerson's feeding of Mrs. E. by means of his garden indicates the inversion of the Goddess. Mrs. E. could be Eve who is so-called by the Genesis chronicler because she was "the Mother of

all Living";[123] a description which befits her par excellence. As the Mother of all Living, observes J. Campbell, "Eve herself, then, must be recognized as the missing anthropomorphic aspect of the Mother goddess, [whose cult can be traced as far back as c. 7500 B.C.]. And Adam therefore must have been her son as well as spouse: for the legend of the rib is clearly a patriarchal inversion (giving precedence to the male) of the earlier myth of the hero born from the Goddess Earth."[124] It has been suggested that Ishtar is the mythological form of Eve, and the former's love for Sargon has its counterpart in Eve's love for Cain, the gardener in his youth.[125] According to Sayce, Ishtar the old serpent goddess had been transformed by the Hebrews into Eve, "the embodiment of all that was hostile to the powers of heaven".[126] Viewed in this perspective, Eggerson-Yahweh replaces Mrs. E.-Ishtar, thus becoming the nourisher of life and the patron of fertility instead of the goddess. It is worth noting here that the vegetables which grow in Eggerson's garden, such as marrows and peas are the ones that grew in the gardens of Mesopotamia and Egypt of the fourth millennium B.C.[127]

That Mrs. E. seems to be Eve, a form of the Mother of all Living, i.e. the goddess of Earth whom Eggerson supplanted is made clear by his ironical hint to his wife as the daughter of Eve. In reply to Sir Claude's remark on what Eggerson said to his wife as to his retirement and the engagement of Colby instead, the Eggerson of the "Second Rough" alludes not only to the inquisitiveness of ladies in general, but also to their disloyalties as "they are all the daughters of Mother Eve".[128] Against this, Eliot wrote in his hand "cacophonous", ie. harsh-sounding, and this explains why Eggerson's antagonistic attitude

towards Mrs. E. is dropped in the subsequent versions. The allusion is apparently to Eve, being unfaithful to Adam.

In view of the changes made in the "Second Rough", as we have seen, a further light has been thrown on the dramatization of the Moses legend. The Lady Elizabeth of this version reveals unmistakable elements which are characteristic of the royal princess, identified with Hetshepsut. Examples of the points of contact between the two persons which the "Second Rough" subsumes are: the deep sense of religious scrupulousness which impels each to negate her earthly parentage in favour of divine descent; the overt allusions to the adoption of the divine hero by the supposed mother, and to her instruction of him in the royal court. As for Colby, we have shown that the "Second Rough" moulds him in such a form as to bring him closer to his prototype by the incorporation of the allusions to his wandering in the desert and to the celestial visit to the Garden of Eden which the Lord bestowed on him. With respect to the Eggerson of the "Second Rough", he is portrayed as Yahweh, the sole possessor of the Garden of Eden, and hence the nourisher of life and patron of fertility who supersedes the Mother of all Living. The rivalry between Yahweh and Eve - the latter is originally a disguished form of Ishtar - is rendered manifest by the spirit of vying between Eggerson and Mrs. E. The latter has been ousted by the male deity from the garden, her primitive abode, and above all she has come under his mercy as to the nutriments and comestibles produced by the earth.

* * *

The final drafts enhance the Moses legend by the incorporation of several suggestive additions which have strong bearing on the evolution of the legend. These additions can be summed up as follows: the reflection on Yahweh's revelation of Himself to Moses, along with the latter's attempt to free himself as well as the subjugated Hebrews from Egyptian bondage; the allusion to the crossing of the Egyptian borders into Sinai, and the invasion of Canaan, the reflection on Mrs. E. Hathor-Ishtar, as being pleased with Colby-Moses; a reflection which suggests the Hebrew's worship of the golden calf in Sinai; and finally the allusion to the Hebraic mission of priesthood which was to be assigned for the first time to Moses.

Yahweh's revelation of Himself to Moses is believed to have occurred in Sinai, when the latter saw a bush burning, but was not consumed by fire.[129] The message which the Lord allocated to Moses is the deliverance of his "chosen people" from their Egyptian taskmasters in order "to bring them up out of that land [of Egypt] unto a good land ... unto the place of the Canaanite and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite".[130] In a similar manner, Eggerson has revealed himself to Colby whom he assists to get rid of the shackles of the Mulhammers-the royal family, and above all to free the oppressed Hebrews, as represented by Mrs. Guzzard, from the Egyptian servitude. The original version, as shown earlier,[131] makes Colby opt for Eggerson in preference to the Mulhammers, for he overtly asks Eggerson to be his spiritual father. Nevertheless, the Colby of the "Second Draft", proclaims the instant revelation of choosing Eggerson-Yahweh and repelling the Mulhammers, the aristocratic family. In reply

to Mrs. Guzzard's question if he prefers to be Sir Claude's son, or "the son of some other man, obscure and silent", "a dead man", Colby chooses the latter; a choice which begins with the sudden illumination: "It's only just come to me."[132] This abrupt sense of revelation which has occurred to Colby brings to our mind the moment when Moses decided to consecrate himself to the divine cause of the Lord and the mission of deliverance, negating all attachments to the royal court.

At the same time Mrs. Guzzard's desire to fulfil Colby's wish appears to suggest the great hope which the enslaved Israelites placed on Moses whom they wanted to pursue his mission of deliverance. Colby's rejoicing in being liberated from the Mulhammers' parental claims is demonstrated by his exclamation: "This gives me freedom" in response to Mrs. Guzzard's claim that he is her son.[133] The freedom to which Colby-Moses alludes, at this level of the Hebraic legend, is not so much his as that of the subjugated Israelites on whom forced labour was imposed, for they were obliged to build cities and temples and work in the quarries of Wadi Hammamat, east of the Pharaonic city of Thebes.[134] This explains why Moses, according to the Hebraic tradition, announced to the Israelites in captivity that the end of the term of Egyptian slavery had come.[135] Thus in Moses the Israelites saw God's will to deliver His chosen people, raising them from the status of serfdom to that of freedom.[136]

The most explicit allusion to Moses' mission of liberating the Jews from the Egyptian bondage occurs in the finale of the acting version. In it Mrs. Guzzard is made to remark on the termination of the period of bondage which she has sealed by her

assumption that Colby is her son rather than Sir Claude's, in just the same way as the pharaoh has been told that Moses is not his grandson but the son of the levites:

> ... you and I, Sir Claude,
> Had <u>our</u> wishes twenty-fives years ago;
> But we failed to observe, when we had our wishes
> That there was a time-limit clause in the contract.[137]

The remark given to Mrs. Guzzard on "time-limit clause in the contract" intimates the end of Moses-Colby's relationship to the royal court-the Mulhammers, an end to which the Hebrews aspired for the hope of deliverance and their invasion of Canaan.

The allusion to freedom and love given to Colby suggests, as seen in the previous chapter, the reunion of Sargon, as Tammuz incarnate, with Ishtar.[138] At this level the allusion may be a reflection on Moses' reunion with the Hathor of Sinai, the Egyptian form of Ishtar. We have referred earlier to Völter's view that Moses' marriage to Zipporah is modelled on Thoth's to Hathor;[139] a view which strengthens the idea suggested by many critics that the image of the golden calf, worshipped by the Israelites during Moses' absence on Mount Horeb,[140] was that of the goddess Hathor.[141] Flinders Petrie, who found the remains of Hathor at Serabit-el-Khadem in Sinai, contends that this deity worshipped under the title "Mistress of Turquoise" was really Ishtar.[142] In S.W. Barton's view, "the Semitic father-god was nothing but a transformation of the Mother-goddess, and the Kenites, whose disciples the tribes led by Moses were, must have worshipped Ashtart beside the great god commonly known as Yahweh".[143] Viewed in this perspective, the allusion to love given to Colby-Moses may suggest his expected

reunion with Ishtar in just the same way as Sargon was believed to have reunited with the goddess of love.[144] Hence the incorporation of the allusion to Mrs. E. as being pleased with Colby.[145]

Closely related to the worship of Hathor-Ishtar by the Israelites is the festival of the Passover which has also its parallel in The Confidential Clerk, and for this reason we should like to enlarge upon the origin and significance of that festival. This festival which Israelite tradition connects with the flight from Egypt was originally an agricultural spring festival embedded in the chthonic religion of Canaan.[146] The timing of the flight from Egypt was Abib-Nisan, i.e. April, a time which coincided with that of the Passover festival,[147] when offerings were made in honour of the vegetation deities to the effect of their intercession for the success of the grain harvest.[148] Other critics went further to suggest that the exodus narrative was a cult drama for the Passover festival, at which time the Hebrew deity was enthroned, just as divine Kings, such as Sargon of Accad, were enthroned in the Babylonian New Year's festival.[149]

In view of the idea that the Passover is no more than a spring festival at which Moses was enthroned as a King, we may understand Colby's exodus to Joshua Park in the spring when he is expected to attain regalia and reunite with Mrs. E. on the occasion of the festival made in honour of the chthonic deity, who stands for the Semitic goddess worshipped by the Israelites under the form of the golden calf. In this respect, Colby's exodus resembles that of Moses which occurred in springtime and culminated in the reunion of the hero with the goddess.

So far we have discussed the growth and development of the Moses legend throughout the drafts. Our discussion has shown

that the play in its original version adapts the legend in a form which suggests that it is based on the Sargon legend par excellence. Points of contact between the two legends can be traced from the original version onwards. The myth of birth and exposure into the water is perhaps the most conspicuous feature which Sargon and Moses have in common. One may object to the idea that the myth of birth and exposure is not so explicitly dramatized in The Confidential Clerk. To this I would reply by imploring the reader to take into account some indications which might help to make him acquiescent: Mrs. Guzzard's residence in Teddington; a place largely surrounded by the Thames, is similar to the place where the Levites lived. In each case, the hero is brought up near the river from which he was delivered. In addition, Mrs. Guzzard, as a name, which indicates gooseherding, an explicit allusion to her customary presence on the river banks, looking after geese, is suggestive of the Levite tribe, the herdsmen, who brought up the infant Moses. The equivocal nature of Colby's parental origin is in conformity with the myth of the divine hero in general and Sargon/Moses in particular.

Further points of contact between Moses and Sargon, as adapted in the original version of the play are unearthed as is explained in our discussion. One of the closest affinities relates to the hero's mother. In both legends of Sargon and Moses, the hero's mother takes the place of Ishtar. In the case of Sargon, it is the entitum, the princess-priestess, Ishtar's representative, who gave birth to the hero. In the Moses legend, Sargon's mother is replaced by Pharaoh's daughter who is also a princess-priestess. In the dramatization of the

two legends, Lady Elizabeth, the princess-priestess assumes the role of the hero's mother. The notable absence of the hero's father in both legends is indicative of the matrilineal social structure in which the hero's paternal origin plays second fiddle so long as motherhood counts. However since the Hebrew Patriarchs endeavoured to obliterate matriarchy along with the primitive religion of the Earth-Mother, the Mother of all living, they attributed to their national hero a titular father and mother, Amram and Jochebed, whose relation to Moses makes his parentage rather ambiguous. The fact that the Exodus chronicler assigns the parentage of Moses to Jochebed and Amram is inconsistent with the fatherless and motherless origin of the hero as recounted in Numbers. The inconsistency of Moses' parentage is explicitly dramatized in The Confidential Clerk, where the humble family, the Guzzards, who foster Colby for Lady Elizabeth, though they lay paternal claim to him, resemble the Levite Jochebed and Amram. The Biblical narrative of the Levite Jochebed-Mrs. Guzzard as a baby-farmer who is supposed to have taken care of the Hebrews' infants appears to have its origin in the Babylonian women who assumed the role of baby-farmers under the pressing circumstances of increasing illegitimate children.

To what extent the Moses legend deviates from that of Sargon, as is evidenced by their hitherto dramatized versions, appears from the inversion of Ishtar, the primitive goddess who assumes a prominent position in the foreground of the latter legend. Ishtar as the deliverer and supporter of Sargon is replaced in the Moses legend by Yahweh, Moses' deliverer and patron. Nevertheless the motif of the goddess as the patroness of the divine hero underlies Pharaoh's daughter as the supporter of Moses. The play in its original version shows the

replacement of the goddess by the male deity. Eggerson, as Yahweh, supplants Mrs. E. as Ishtar; and Colby's option of following him echoes Moses' of following Yahweh. The notion that Yahweh was originally a vegetation deity, and Ishtar was his consort whom he gradually suppressed is demonstrated by Eggerson's relation to Mrs. E., the Mother of all living he came to supersede. The allusion to Eggerson as the sole possessor of the garden of which Mrs. E. is jealous drives full circle the inversion of Earth Mother - who prominently figures in the Sargon legend - by the Hebrew Patriarchs. The realistic chthonian garden of Ishtar is replaced by Yahweh's idealistic celestial Garden of Eden. Further the adaptation of the Sargon legend by the Hebrews appears from the suggested view of Moses' enthronement as King and his sacred marriage to Hathor alias Ishtar, just as Sargon was appointed as King and reunited with the Semitic goddess. This ritual in both legends is dramatized by Colby's expected reunion with Mrs. E. whose love for him recalls that of Ishtar for Sargon and Moses.

The "Second Rough" introduces new dimensions to the Moses legend. At this stage of the play's evolution, Lady Elizabeth, as the royal princess who takes the place of Ishtar in the Sargon legend, has come to assume further traits, such as her belief that she is the divine offspring of god, in other words a deity herself. Like Ishtar, too, the Lady Elizabeth of this version wants Colby-Moses to be instructed in the Egyptian royal court, just as Ishtar had Sargon instructed in the royal court of Ur-Zababa, the Babylonian potentate. The Colby of this version has come to be closer to his prototype Moses in respect of the anticipation of his wandering in the Sinai desert and

bis visit to Yahweh's celestial Garden of Eden. The motif of the gardener which underlies Mosheh, the Hebraic form of Moses, a motif which, according to A. Jeremias, originally derives from the Sargon legend,[150] is illustrated by the interest which the Colby of the Second Rough shows in gardening, despite the fact that the Hebrew nomads were anti-agricultural people. Nevertheless, they portrayed their God as the universal gardener who planted a park at Eden, and had come to feed mankind; an inversion of the motif of the goddess, the original nourisher of her created beings. This idea is introduced in the "Second Rough" where the Eggerson of this version is delineated as the nourisher of life and patron of fertility who provides Mrs. E. with the staff of life.

The Final drafts enhance the Moses legend with significant touches which round it off. At this stage of the play's progress, the allusions to Moses' task of liberating the oppressed Hebrews from the Egyptian bondage, to the exodus and the celebration of the Passover suggested themselves to the author's mind. Here again we discern the chthonic influence of the Sargon legend on the Hebraic traditions assigned to Moses. The Passover, suggested by Mrs. E.'s invitation of Colby for dinner in the Spring, is originally a Canaanite spring festival adapted from the Babylonian New Year festival when Kings reunited with Ishtar. The Passover, too, underlies the concept of Colby-Moses' reunion with Mrs. E.-Hathor, whose image the golden calf, was worshipped by the Israelites of the exodus in Sinai. The unleavened cakes baked by the Israelites during the Passover festival were originally the cakes made in honour of Ishtar. The reunion of Moses with Hathor as further suggested by Colby's

allusion to freedom and love, both of which originally imply the reunion of Sargon as Tammuz with Ishtar.

Nothing would make clearer the modelling of the Moses legend on its pre-Biblical counterpart of Sargon as our discussion of its growth and development step by step throughout the drafts of The Confidential Clerk. One major conclusion arises here as it does in the subsequent chapters. Eliot, like many authors, undoubtedly believes that a large number of the Biblical stories are modelled on the pre-Biblical myths. Our discussion of the adaptation of the Sargon-Moses legend leaves no doubt as to Eliot's belief in the pre-Biblical legend of Sargon rather than in the Moses legend, which, as he seems to urge, is duplicated from its Babylonian counterpart. So is the case with the legend of Dionysos-Jesus, the growth and development of which throughout the drafts can be traced on another level as will be shown from the subsequent discussion.

NOTES

1. Exodus, 2:1-10.
2. See Supra, pp. 34-6.
3. George Smith, Assyrian Discoveries: An Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh during 1873 and 1874, Sampson Law, London, 1875, p. 224.
4. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 27.
5. See his article "Moses" in Encyclopedia Biblica, III, 3203-3219.
6. Alfred Jeremias, The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East, II, Williams & Norgate, London, 1911, 92.
7. J.G. Frazer, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, II, 451.
8. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 43.
9. L.W. King, op.cit., pp. 136-7.
10. See Infra, p. 163.
11. Folk-lore in the Old Testament, II, p. 454. H. Gressman suggests as well that the real mother of Moses is Pharaoh's daughter (see W.J. Gruffydd, "Moses in the Light of Comparative Folklore" in Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1928, p. 267.
12. Alfred Jeremias, op.cit., II, 91.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p. 19.
16. Freud, Moses and Monotheism (1937) in The Standard Edition of the complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, 23, the Hogarth Press, London, 1964, 13.
17. See Ibid.
18. See Freud, op.cit., pp. 10-11.
19. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 15.
20. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 19.
21. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 20.
22. Printed Text, III, p. 556.
23. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 19.

24. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 20.

25. See Freud, op.cit., p. 13.

26. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 20.

27. Printed Text, III, p. 506.

28. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, pp. 12, 19.

29. First Draft, III.iii, p. 19, in D9, p. 425.

30. O. Rank, The Myth of the Birth of the Hero, edited by Philip Freund, Vintage Books, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1964 (first published in 1932), p. 77.

31. Op.cit., II, 92.

32. Pausanias' Description of Greece, translated by A.R. Shilleto, I, George Bell and Sons, London, 1886, 221.

33. Ur-Clerk, II.i, pp. 17-19.

34. Printed Text, II, p. 482. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 13.

35. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 13. Reproduced in the Printed Text, II, pp. 482-3.

36. Freud, op.cit., p. 28.

37. Printed Text, II, p. 485.

38. Freud, op.cit., p. 59.

39. Ibid., p. 23.

40. Ur-Clerk, II.i, p. 13. Printed Text, II, p. 482.

41. See Infra, pp. 93 ff.

42. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, V, Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1947, 398-9.

43. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p. 254.

44. Ur-Clerk, III.i, p. 6.

45. Ur-Clerk, III.i, p. 6.

46. Ur-Clerk, III.i, ff. 2-6; Printed Text, II, 487-490.

47. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, V, 407.

48. Printed Text, I, p. 459.

49. The Legends of the Jews, II, 271.

50. Printed Text, I, p. 459.

51. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p. 5.

52. See Supra, p. 83.

53. Reproduced in Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p. 250.

54. Exodus 9:26.

55. Reproduced in Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p. 251.

56. Henry Harrison, Surnames of the United Kingdom, I, the Eaton Press, London, 1912.

57. For the Egyptian Hebrews who were nomads, see Genesis 47:3.

58. J.H. Breasted, A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest, Hodder & Sloughton, London, 1906, p. 442. See also map 13 in this book, facing p. 634.

59. A. Lods, Israel From the Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century, translated from the French by S.H. Hooke, Kegan Paul, London, 1932, pp. 173-4.

60. Margaret A. Murray, The Splendour That Was Egypt, Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1979 (first published in 1949), pp. 93-4.

61. Freud, op.cit., p. 28.

62. Freud, op.cit., pp. 28-9.

63. William McKane, Studies in Patriarchal Narratives, the Handsel Press Ltd., Edinburgh, 1979, p. 214.

64. Martin Buber, Moses the Revelation and the Covenant, Harper and Row, New York, 1958, p. 50.

65. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, II, 252.

66. Ibid., pp. 252-3.

67. See Supra, pp. 52-53.

68. O. Rank, op.cit., p. 92.

69. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, V, 395.

70. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p. 20. Printed Text, III, pp. 508-9.

71. T.K. Cheyne, Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel, Adams and Charles Black, London, 1907, p. 518.

72. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. Reproduced in Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p. 270.

73. Printed Text, I, p. 461. Ur-Clerk, I.ii, p. 12.

74. See Freud, op.cit., p. 23, n.

75. Ibid., p. 40.

76. See Infra, p. 154.

77. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, pp. 30-31.

78. Printed Text, III, p. 518. Acting version, III, pp. 36-7.

79. For the view that Yahweh was originally a fertility god, see T.K. Cheyne, op.cit., p. 36. See also E.O. James, "Hebrew Myths" in Myth and Ritual, edited by S.H. Hooke, p. 187.

80. Genesis 2:8,15.

81. Ezekiel 28:13f.; 31:8f.

82. T.K. Cheyne, op.cit., pp. 72-3.

83. That Ishtar came to be looked upon as Yahweh's consort is apparent from the compound name "Yahweh-Shemaith" which means Yahweh-Ashtart (see T.K. Cheyne, Ibid., p. 35).

84. Ur-Clerk, I.i, pp. 10-11.

85. Ur-Clerk, I.ii, p. 11. Printed Text, I, p. 455.

86. T.K. Cheyne, op.cit., p. 80.

87. See Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p. 250.

88. Encyclopedia Biblica, II, 1640.

89. Daniel Völter, Jahwe und Mose in Licht aegyptischer parallelen, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1919, p. 12.

90. See Supra, pp. 49-50.

91. See Supra, p. 48.

92. Op.cit., II, 92.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. A. Jeremias, op.cit., II, 92.

96. Printed Text, II, p. 488. Second Rough, II, p. 28, in D9, p. 321.

97. See, e.g. E.A. Wallis Budge, The Dwellers on the Nile, p. xvii. See also H. Rowley, From Joseph to Joshua: Biblical Traditions in the Light of Archaeology, The Schweich Lectures (1948), Oxford University Press, London, 1950, p. 10, n. 2. Also J. Orr and J.W. Jack hold the same view that Pharaoh's daughter who brought up Moses was Hetshepsut (see Rowley, Ibid.).

98. See Rowley, Ibid., p. 11, n. 1.

99. See Ibid., pp. 23-4.

100. See Arthur Weigall, A History of the Pharaohs, II, Thornton, London, 1927, 302.

101. J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Magic Art, II, 130-133.

102. Printed Text, II, p. 485. "Second Rough", II, p. 22, in D9, p. 315.

103. According to Herodotus, "The Egyptians were the first who asserted that the soul of man is immortal, and that when the body perishes it enters into some other animal, constantly springing into existence; and when it has passed through the different kinds of terrestrial, marine, and aerial beings, it again enters into the body of a man that is born." (Quoted in M.A. Murray, op.cit., p. 130.)

104. Printed Text, II, p. 485. Second Rough, II, p. 23, in D9, p. 316.

105. C.J. Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion", in The Cambridge Ancient History, I, 418-19.

106. Acts 7:21:22.

107. Printed Text, I, p. 448. "Second Rough", I.i, pp. 4-5, in D9, pp. 75-6.

108. The majority of critics hold the view that the ancient Egyptian civilization surpassed any of the nations of ancient times, for its reputation with respect to medical knowledge, the skill in divination and geography, the erection of altars and temples to the gods (see, e.g. M.A. Murray, op.cit., p. xix.

109. The allusion to the "wisdom of Atlantis" is explicit in the last line of the following:

> The only wisdom we can hope to acquire
> Is the wisdom of humility: humility is endless
> The houses are all gone under the sea.

(Poems and Plays, p. 179. Emphasis is mine.)

110. See Timaeus in The Dialogues of Plato, III, translated by B. Jowett, the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1953, 711-14. See also Critias in Ibid., p. 791.

111. A.M. Blackman, "Myth and Ritual in Ancient Egypt", Myth and Ritual, edited by S.H. Hooke, p. 35.

112. Flinders Petrie, Religious Life in Ancient Egypt, Constable & Co. Ltd., London, 1924, p. 51.

113. Printed Text, I, p. 447. "Second Rough", I.i, p. 5, in D9, p. 76.

114. H.H. Rowley, op.cit., p. 7.

115. Printed Text, II, p. 480. Second Rough, II, p. 17, in D9, p. 310.

116. First Draft, III.iii, p. 31, in D9, p. 438.

117. Robert Graves, Hebrew Myths, p. 71.

118., See, e.g. Genesis 3:17-19; 5:29. According to J.G. Duncan the Hebrew tribes were regarded by the peasants as parasites who flourished on their labours by theft of their crops (The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1908, p. 143.

119. Printed Text, II, p. 474. "Second rough", II, p. 8, in D9, p. 301.

120. Genesis 3:8.

121. See M. Eliade, op.cit., pp. 271-2.

122. Printed Text, II, p. 473. Second Rough, II, p. 8 in D9, p. 301.

123. Genesis 3:20.

124. J. Campbell, The Masks of God: Occidental Mythology, Secker and Warburg, London, 1965, pp. 7, 29-30.

125. Mrs. Sydney Bristowe, Sargon the Magnificent, the Covenant Publishing Co., London, 1927, p. 94.

126. A.H. Sayce, op.cit., p. 283.

127. W.F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, the John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1957, p. 145.

128. "Second Rough", I.i, p. 1; in D9, p. 72.

129. Exodus 3:1-6.

130. Exodus 3:8.

131. See Supra, p. 99.

132. Printed Text, III, p. 513. "Second Draft", III, in D9, p. 592.

133. Printed Text, III, p. 515. Acting version, III, p. 33.

134. Martin Noth, The History of Israel, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1972, p. 113.

135. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, II, 327.

136. Gerhard von Rad, Moses, Lutterworth Press, London, 1960, p. 30.

137. Printed Text, III, p. 519. Acting version, III, p. 37.

138. See Supra, pp. 67-68.

139. See Supra, p. 102.

140. Exodus 32:1ff.

141. See, e.g. H.R. Hall, "Israel and the Surrounding Nations", The People and the Book, edited by A.S. Peake, the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1925, p. 11.

142. For Petrie's view, see T.K. Cheyne, op.cit., p. 17.

143. See Ibid.

144. See Supra, pp. 49-50.

145. See Supra, p. 46.

146. L. Elliott Binns, Old Testament, II: From Moses to Elisha, the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1929, 96. See also Robert Graves, The White Goddess, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1948, p. 287.

147. Encyclopedia Biblica, III, 3590. See also J.J. Davis, Moses and the Gods of Egypt, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1975, p. 166.

148. J.B. Segal, The Hebrew Passover, Oxford University Press, London, 1963, p. 116. For further discussions that the Passover festival was a harvest one, see Encyclopedia Biblica, III, 3591.

149. Herbert F. Hahn, Old Testament in Modern Research, Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, 1954, pp. 139, 142.

150. A. Jeremias, op.cit., II, p. 92.

CHAPTER 4

The Confidential Clerk:
The Adaptation of the Dionysos-Christ Legend I

Eliot was aware that the Christian system in its earliest stage was influenced by the pre-Christian mystery-religions, especially that of Dionysos which, as one critic observes, "must have been at home in Greek culture by the end of the second millennium B.C. at the latest".[1] The Christian faith, urges Eliot in 1948, penetrated the Graeco-Roman culture; "a penetration which had profound effects both upon that culture and upon the course of development taken by Christian thought and practice".[2] Although Eliot does not show explicitly what was this religion which shaped the Christian system, he seems to have in mind Dionysos who was "the most popular of the Graeco-Roman deities in the period just before Christianity".[3] The Church is said to have adapted herself to the Greek environment and the exploitation of "the Greek passion for the mystery cults by interpreting her own mysteries by means of words and images to which their devotees were already accustomed".[4] Clement of Alexandria endeavoured to persuade his Greek readers to abandon Dionysos for Christ: "Oh, come, thou bemused dupe!", he writes in his discussion of the mysteries, "lean no more upon the thyrsus and cast away the ivy wreath ... come, be sober! I will show thee the Logos and the mysteries of the Logos."[5] His words addressed to Tiresias: "Throw aside the service of Bacchus and let thyself be guided into the truth",[6] show clearly how the Dionysiac religion was persistently dominant in the early years of Christianity to so great an extent that St. Paul encountered obstacles in Ephesus, in Corinth and in Colossae where the Bacchic mysteries prevailed.[7] These mysteries exercised an enormous influence on the religious history of Europe as they were the religion of a large number of the population which

adhered to the customs of the autochthons.[8] This is apparently the view held by Eliot, too, who urges that "the actual religion of no European people has ever been purely Christian, or purely anything else. There are always bits and traces of more primitive faiths, more or less absorbed."[9]

Two writers whose views must have left their imprint on Eliot's mind, with respect to the assumption that Dionysos is an archetype of Christ, are Sir James George Frazer and John M. Robertson. Frazer persuades us that the nature-myth of the dying and risen God of vegetation closely resembles the Biblical narrative of the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. His Spirits of the Corn discusses the myth of Dionysos' death, descent to Hades and resurrection;[10] a myth which by "comparison and analysis", the chief tools, according to Eliot, of the literary critic,[11] invites a similar one, i.e. the Biblical narrative of Christ's Passion descent to hell and resurrection. Also Frazer discusses the crucifixion of Dionysos who was torn in pieces at Thebes. The ritual survived in the practice of putting, perhaps a King, to death in the character of Dionysos for the sake of the crops. A pretence is made of flaying his body and of mourning over him, but afterwards he comes to life again.[12]

The other writer who seems to have influenced Eliot in the matter of the shaping influence of the legend of Dionysos upon Christianity is John M. Robertson whom he knew well as a contributor to The Criterion,[13] (a periodical under the editorship of Eliot, 1922-1939). Eliot refers to Robertson as a "friend" whom he classifies under the category of "the Auld Licht Atheism".[14] This term is perhaps a reflection on

Robertson's atheism as of a particularly primitive and simple kind. In short, those who were familiar with Robertson's religious views, as I believe Eliot was, would come to the conclusion that he was opposed to Christianity. Robertson's thesis which he supports throughout his investigation into the origin of Christianity is that the whole Christian system in its present terminology, is demonstrably an adaptation of a mass of pre-Christian myths. His view here resembles Eliot's, above mentioned, that Christianity absorbed bits and traces of more primitive faiths.[15] Christianity, Robertson urges, had to compete with the cult of Dionysos which had become partly assimilated in theory, in ritual and in public observance. This cult of Dionysos gave prominence to the idea of the God's death and resurrection which closely corresponds to that of the Passion and resuscitation of Christ. Dionysos, like his Biblical counterpart, too, was born of a virgin.[16] In short, it is not too much to say that when Eliot adapted the Dionysos-Christ legend, he was not doing something new-fledged. He had before him authorities, such as Robertson and Frazer whose works profoundly influenced him.

Here, too, mention should be made of an eminent scholar of Hellenistic studies to whose work Eliot is indebted with respect to the adaptation of the Dionysos legend: Jane Ellen Harrison, in whose works Eliot showed great interest and expressed much enthusiasm as early as 1920: "Few books are more fascinating than those of Miss Harrison ... when they burrow in the origin of Greek myths and rites."[17]

* * *

The Dionysiac legend in general seems to have suggested itself to Eliot's mind, first as a result of hints latent in the Ion of Euripides. He then elaborated it in a way which shows that it is an archetype of the Christ legend. This chapter is therefore intended to discuss the growth and development of the Dionysos legend throughout the drafts and the next chapter is devoted to the discussion of the Christian version of the Dionysiac legend and its evolution, too, throughout the draft material of the play. Before embarking, however, on the present chapter, it is helpful to begin with a preliminary explanation of the hints latent in the Ion of Euripides which seem to have urged Eliot to draw upon the legend of Dionysos.

In the Ion of Euripides, there are three allusions to the Dionysos legend. One of these occurs in the scene between Creusa and Ion when they first meet:

> Ion: Oh, say, by all the Gods, is it true what men relate.
> Creusa: What is't, young sir, thou show'st such eagerness to know?
> Ion:(continuing): that thy renown'd forefather sprung direct from Earth?
> Creusa: Ericthonios came thence ....
> Ion: And did Athene lift him up from off the ground?
> Creusa: Ay, 'tween her virginal arms. A mother ne'er she was.[18]

Here we notice that the original motherhood is assigned to the Earth which gave birth to Erichthonios, the seed of the Athenians whom Athenae received from the Goddess.[19]

The other allusion is incorporated in the scene between Xuthus and Ion. In it, Xuthus reveals to Ion the father-son relationship. Consequently Ion asks about his maternal origin:

Wasn't it the Earth which gave me being?

Xuthus' reply "Ne'er did soil produce a babe", which is preceded by the stage direction "simply",[20] suggests his ignorance with respect to the mythical belief that the Athenians are sprung from soil, probably because he is a foreigner (Achaean).

More relevant to the Dionysos' legend is the allusion put in Hermes' mouth at the very beginning of the play. In his account of the snake-ornamented trinkets which Creusa put with her child in the cradle, Hermes casually remarks on the origin of that custom, with the implication of Zeus as the adoptive father, whose 'wise virgin' Athenae received the newly born child, entrusting him to Agraulis' daughters:

> her (Creusa's) suckling she depos'd, as if for
> Death design'd,
> inside a wicker panier semi-circular,
> ancestral rites conforming to; (Erikthonios,
> engender'd by the soil, when issuing thence,
> receiv'd,
> from Zeus' wise virgin, guards in serpents twain;
> she sent
> Agraulis' maidens three enjoin'd to shield him well
> from harm.[21]

The three allusions throw light on the divine birth of Erichthonios, the second great Athenian hero sprung from the Earth; a birth which "symbolizes", says J. Harrison, "that the race of Erechtheus, the Erechtheidae, ancestors of the Athenians, are autochthonous, home-grown".[22] When the child was born, Gaia, or Mother Earth rose from the ground in human shape, and handed the child to his foster mother Pallas Athenae.[23] The allusion, last quoted from the Ion appears to be more suggestive

than the others, because it takes us as far back as the early time when it was believed that the Earth-Goddess arose from the ground, holding a babe which she gave to Pallas Athenae in the presence of Zeus. The child is said to be the natural son of the Earth-Goddess, though he was adopted by Zeus. Modelled on the Erichthonios myth is that of Dionysos, the son of Semele, with one difference, i.e. the death of Semele, thunder-smitten, soon after she gave birth to Dionysos.[24] In her comment on a reproduced vase-painting, J. Harrison throws further light on the birth of Dionysos which has its origin in that of Erichthonios:

> ... Here the familiar type of the birth of Erichthonios from the earth is taken over and adapted to the birth of Dionysos. The vase-painter, thus in instructive fashion assimilates the immigrant stranger (Dionysos), not Erichthonios, but another sacred child to a foster-mother, Athene. it is particularly certain that the child is Dionysos, not Erichthonios, for the maiden who in such familiar fashion leans on the shoulder of Zeus in inscribed 'wine-bloom', Oinathe. Zeus himself with his thunderbolt is a reminiscence of the thunder-smitten birth.[25]

What concerns us in J. Harrison's comment on the vase-painting is the tradition which the Erichthonios myth had established; a tradition which recurs in successive forms, such as the one she mentions relating Dionysos and Semele, the Earth-Goddess. Hence my contention that the allusion to the birth of Erichthonios from the earth in the Ion of Euripides, seems to have drawn Eliot's attention to the Dionysos myth. The myth

states that the worship of the Father God has so much impaired the religious status of the Earth-Goddess that she requires a son or a lover to bring her up from Hades every spring in order to bless and multiply the land's yield. Hence Semele's need for Dionysos in order to perform that task. Semele, it should be noted, originally one of the deities, was made into a mortal woman by the Thebans and called the daughter of Kadmus, "though her original character as an earth-goddess is transparently evident".[26]

J. Harrison's treatment of Dionysos' descent to Hades to bring up Semele is thorough and comprehensive. The line of argument she follows in her two illuminating books: Prologomena (1903) and Themis (1912) is this: in the heyday of the Earth-Mother, she used to rise by herself from Hades. Later when she was no longer worshipped as a consequence of the substitution of patriarchy for matriarchy, the necessity for a son to bring her up arose. Her argument is best shown in the following passage which I quote at length for its relation to our discussion:

> She, the young green Earth, has her yearly Anodos, as Kore, as Semele ... At first she rises of her own motion and alone ... Later, when ... patriarchy supplanted matrilinear earth-worship, a human and patrilinear motive is provided. She needs a son or a lover to fetch her up, to carry her down. So we get ... the descent of Dionysos to fetch his mother Semele.[27]

In brief, it is the myth of Dionysos' descent to Hades and his emergence in the spring with Mother Earth which is adapted on another level in The Confidential Clerk. The object of the

present chapter, therefore, is to trace the growth and development of this motif, along with some other features relevant to the myth throughout the drafts.

The reason why Eliot adapted the Dionysiac legend is not, I hope, difficult to explain. Eliot must have appreciated Dionysos on account of his chthonic character, and in this respect he is unlike the Olympian gods whom Eliot condemns as "irresponsible, as much a prey to their passions, as devoid of public spirit and the sense of fair play, as the heroes".[28] Critics noted in Eliot's poetry the transformation of parts of the myths belonging to the Dionysos legend, especially his passion and resurrection.[29] Cleanth Brooks, too, has remarked on what he calls Eliot's "partial allegiance" to Dionysos:

> though most of Eliot's early poems have an urban setting and though he is concerned with the fate of the city, he is cast as a kind of a double agent. He owns at least a partial allegiance to Dionysos, the dark and violent god of the uncivilized.[30]

It has been suggested that the Dionysiac religion often offered a substitute for Christianity in the past one hundred years, especially at a time when traditional Jewish and Christian world views are either under siege or increasingly ignored providing an alternative mode of life and thought.[31] This explains why Nietzsche adored Dionysos at the expense of Jesus. For he felt that the culture of his time was "becoming increasingly routinized and pedestrian", and therefore he found it necessary to transcend the commonplace through the revival of the Dionysiac religion.[32]

To resume: the Dionysos legend suggested itself to Eliot's mind as a consequence of the hints to it in the Ion of Euripides,

where the birth of Dionysos from the Earth Mother, represented by Semele is alluded to. By the Dionysos legend, I mean his close association with Mother-Earth, Semele whom, after her death, he has to descend to Hades in order to rescue her in the spring. Before we embark on the discussion of the adaptation of this motif, we ought to deal with the transformation of some relevant details, especially the deterioration of the mother-son relationship as a consequence of the rise of the patriarchal structure of society, a change which gave rise to the need of Mother Earth for her son in the spring. Also we shall attempt to show how the earliest draft material of the play, especially the sketch plan of characters and the prose-outline , throw light on the major characters intended to develop the Dionysos legend.

* * *

We turn now to the discussion of the adaptation of the legend throughout the drafts. The major characters originally intended to develop the legend are Eggerson, Colby, and Mrs. Guzzard. In addition, there are two other characters: Mrs. E. and Mrs. Guzzard's dead sister. Although these last two do not appear on the stage, they are indispensible so far as the demonstration of the legend is concerned. Meanwhile, the superiority of patriarchy over matriarchy which gave rise to the legend is best illustrated by Sir Claude's paternal claims on Colby, and by Mrs. Guzzard's rejection of the son-mother relationship. To spell out the myth; Colby is Dionysos who, in patriarchal days, has to bring up the Earth-Mother in Joshua

Park. Eggerson of Joshua Park, where land is cultivated, resembles Kronos who is "a sort of elder Zeus", the Father of the male nursed by his mother who loses her maternal right when patriarchy predominates.[33] Eggerson's increasing concern with his garden, with the earth he cultivates and highly appreciates, is reminiscent of Kronos who is so closely related to Mother Earth that he "reverences and counsels" her.[34] Mythologically speaking, too, Eggerson stands for the Cretan Zeus (the Chthonic form of the Olympian Zeus), who fertilized the Earth Mother, and as a consequence of which she bore him Dionysos. Earth Mother, whether personified by Demeter or Persephene or Semele, was "regarded as the common womb of all existences" for she is "what has been born, and what will be born".[35] Mrs. E., Eggerson's wife, stands for Mother Earth. Mrs. Guzzard who rears Colby as her nephew after the death of her sister closely resembles Ino, Semele's sister who brought up Dionysos after his mother was dead.

It is worth noting that the earliest draft material of the play (the sketch plan of characters and prose outline) reflects traces of the adaptation of the Dionysos legend which has been substantiated throughout the successive drafts. To say that the seeds of the Dionysos legend are sown in the earliest draft material of the play is not a matter of sheer hypothesis. There are several indications which persuade us to hold this view. First the allusion to Eggerson in the prose outline as the man who is to initiate Colby. Sir Claude, having interviewed Colby to whom Mrs. Guzzard has introduced him, "explains what I's ["Ion's", the name of Colby in the prose outline] position will be, and then calls in Eggerson again, who is to initiate Ion into his duties before leaving".[36] Now the word "initiate" may

be interpreted on two levels. On the surface level, it means instruct, or teach somebody the rudiments of the work to which he is newly introduced. On the mythical level, it implies the rite of initiation, especially that which is related to the legend of Dionysos. Jane Harrison organizes the facts of Dionysiac religion to show their connections with initiation rites, offering a theory of the myth of Dionysos' double birth: the blasting of Dionysos' mother, Semele, by the lightning of Zeus reflected an initiation of the child by fire for purification and strengthening,[37] while the passing of the child from mother to father reflected the youth's initiatory rebirth from the childhood world of his mother to the mature world of his father.[38] Apparently Eliot was familiar with the initiatory myth of Dionysos' double-birth. The initiation to which the prose outline of act I, scene i, refers belongs to that from childhood to youth. Eggerson who is in charge of initiating Colby echoes the Kouretes, or the guardians whose divine nature entitles them to undertake the task of initiating young men who were formerly brought up in their mothers' houses.[39]

To throw further light on the relationship between the tribal rite of initiation and that of the Colby of the original version, we draw once more upon Harrison. In her account of the rite of initiation among the primitive people, she writes:

> ... the child, by his first natural birth, belongs to his mother, his life is of her life. By his Second Birth at Initiation, he is made one with the life of his group, his 'soul is congregationalized', he is received into his church, his thiasos. The new life emphasized is group life.[40]

The "congregationalization" of Colby's "soul", his "New Birth" which occurs at the hands of Eggerson is explicit in the original version. This is shdwn in the scene between Eggerson and Colby, subsequently deleted, in which the central character is supposed to be initiated by Eggerson into the ins and outs of his work. The first exchanges of the scene are meant to draw Colby's attention to the importance of gardening in Joshua Park. One of the preliminary things Eggerson wants to know about Colby's background at the beginning of the scene is whether he is a gardener.[41] No sooner does Colby reply in the negative than Eggerson boasts of his garden, and the vegetables he grows. He, then, exhorts him to "take gardening",[42] expressing a note of regret that Colby will not have much chance of gardening in the mews-flat where Sir Claude has installed him, for he will be "very snug" there.[43] However, in order to arouse his interest in plants and cultivation, Eggerson reveals his desire to furnish Colby's flat with window boxes.[44]

In view of Eggerson's encouragement of Colby to show interest in gardening we can deduce that the scene was originally meant to show Eggerson's initiation of Colby as one of the "tribesmen" in Joshua Park, whose main concern is the cultivation of their land. Eggerson's initiation of Colby also reflects the termination of the son-mother bond. This explains, from the mythical point of view, Colby's refusal to consider Mrs. Guzzard his mother, while he insists on following his father, at the end of the original version, a detail which found its way into the printed text: "I must follow my father - so that I may come to know him."[45] His denial of Mrs. Guzzard as his mother, emphasized in the original version: "Mother? You will always

be my Aunt Sarah"[46] is subsequently rephrased, so that it would not make him appear too ruthless.[47] Earlier, before the revelation of his identity, he anticipated the death of his mother: "Let my mother rest in peace",[48] a reflection on the death of his mother in childbirth, which is modelled on that of Semele, the mother of Dionysos.

* * *

The other allusion to the Dionysos legend in the prose outline, as it originally stands, may be explained by the naming of Mrs. Guzzard as Mrs. Moss in the sketch plan of characters.[49] In all probability, Eliot uses the term "Moss" as referring figuratively to her barrenness which is also a reflection on the infertility of Teddington.[50] Contrasted with Joshua Park, the fictional suburb outside London, whose fertile land is demonstrated by the abundance of vegetables Eggerson grows in his garden, Teddington's soil is sandy and unfit for cultivation.[51] As Mrs. Guzzard rejects the son-mother relationship between her and Colby, allowing Sir Claude to impose his paternal claim on him, she does away with matriarchy, paving the way to the predominance of patriarchy. The ensuing consequence, therefore, from the mythological point of view, is that the land loses its fertility, and barrenness prevails. Mythologically speaking, too, Mrs. Moss is unlike Semele, whose relationship with her son, Dionysos, is strengthened even after death, as she badly needs him in springtime every year. Hence the contrast between Mrs. Guzzard and Semele, which gives rise to one of the incongruities in the transformation of the legend.

Yet Eliot seems to have noted the defect throughout the process of writing as he introduced the story of Mrs. Guzzard's dead sister as the mother of Colby who has descended into the Hades of the Mulhammers to bring her up in the spring.

A later reconsideration of the sketch plan of characters and the prose outline which, as we may think, occurred just before Eliot started writing the original version shows that he made some corrections to two of the characters intended to develop the legend. Colby's original name "Ion", in the prose outline is altered into "Slingsby" in the author's hand.[52] "Slingsby" as a name which is retained in the original version, the First Draft, and part of the "Second Rough" has connections with "farmstead". The name is as old as the eleventh century. It is equivalent to "Domesday",[53] which refers to "Domesday Book", a record of the inquiry made by King William I in 1086 into the ownership of all the lands of England.[54] Apparently it is a reflection on Dionysos as the earth-born child, whose mother Semele is the Earth itself.[55] The son of Mother Earth was connected intimately with agriculture and vegetation.[56] The change, therefore, in the original name of Colby from "Ion" to "Slingsby" throws light on the intended pre-occupation of the central character with the process of cultivation and growth of plants; a process which is progressively dramatized, culminating in his deep interest in Eggerson's "garden of vegetables", as a consequence of the incorporation of a handful of speeches in the course of revisions.[57] The reason why Eliot changed the name into "Colby" in the "Second Rough" is not very clear. Nevertheless, we may conjecture that the suppression of the name is partly due to its outmodedness and partly because

of the five-letter name "Colby" which is chosen in order to elicit further meaning about the Christian doctrine of the Epiphaneia, as will be shown in the following chapter.

We have seen that the sketch plan of characters and the prose outline, together with the few but suggestive alterations made before the writing of the original version reveal the genesis of the Dionysos legend; a revelation which substantiates our contention that the legend was in Eliot's mind before writing the original version. To what extent the legend is adapted in the original version is the object of our following discussion.

* * *

In the original version, the legend is given an explicit but incomplete transformation. Its incompleteness may be explained by the fact that Eliot was not yet fully aware of its minute details. There is no mention of the supposed mother of Colby, who like Semele, died in childbirth, nor of Mrs. Guzzard as Ino who reared Dionysos, her nephew, after his mother's death. Also there is no reference to Colby's future career as an organist of the Joshua Park Church; a career which implies his assistance in bringing up Mother Earth in the spring. Nevertheless the adaptation of the legend can be recognized in view of the portrayal of the chief characters initially intended to develop it. Eggerson's attempt to secure Colby for Mrs. E., Mother Earth, is best shown in the following lines by Eggerson which the text in its finished form reproduces:

... Mrs. E. keeps saying:
'Why don't you ask him out to dinner one Sunday?'
But I say: "We couldn't ask him to come
All the way to Joshua Park, at this time of year!'
I said: 'Let's think about it in the Spring
When the garden will really be a treat to look at.'[58]

Seen in this perspective, Colby-Dionysos is the vegetation god whose expected arrival at Joshua Park coincides with the verdure of nature. For he, like any other vegetation-god, is the chosen guide to the knowledge of, and union with, the supreme Source of Life, of which he is the communicating medium.[59] The emphasis, therefore, in the original version on Eggerson's expectation of Colby's arrival at Joshua Park in the Spring ... leaves no doubt that the legend of Dionysos is taking its shape in the earliest draft.

In the portrayal of the Colby of the original version several points of contact between him and Dionysos cannot escape our notice. First, he is meant to be so unique in character that Lucasta classifies him within the category of "odd fish",[60] which, according to Jessie L. Weston, has from the earliest ages, been associated with deities, held to be especially connected with the origin and preservation of life.[61] Apparently, the description of Colby as an "odd fish" is meant, on the Hellenistic level, to connect him with the sea, which in the Freudian-Jungian term is the maternal original and principal womb. In this respect, Colby resembles Dionysos who is intimately associated with the sea. The Iliad speaks of the sea as Dionysos' refuge.[62] The child Dionysos, according to a Laconian version of his birth, was washed ashore in a chest with his dead mother".[63] Some of the names by which Dionysos was

known also reveal his connection with the sea. He is known as "he of the sea", "he of the lake" and "the lake-born".[64]

Like Dionysos, too, the Colby of the original version impresses us with his effeminate nature. This is reflected by his predilection for celibacy. On several occasions, he rejects the idea of marriage, as for example in the closing scene of act I. In it, he reveals his intention not to marry in reply to Sir Claude's exhortation that he (Colby) should not be indifferent towards the idea of having parents, for he will need them for the sake of his children.[65] By the end of the last act, he, also, declines the thought of marriage, in response to Mrs. Guzzard's insistence that he has to avoid the error his father made by marrying late in his life-time.[66] Further, Colby seems to be good-looking and smart. At least, he must be smarter than B-kaghan, Lucasta's fiancé, otherwise she would not have fallen in love with him. In the Ur-Clerk, she confides to him that he is "very charming", though she accuses him of being indifferent to her.[67] Apparently, the portrayal of Colby as effeminate was in Eliot's mind when he sketched this character. He is reported to have said to Helen Gardner that "The love scene between Colby and Lucasta was not meant to be a real love scene, but a scene of illusion ... The other man [B. Kaghan] was the right man for her."[68] In response to H. Gardner's remark, which she makes in connection with Colby, that the notion of celibacy is not a very congenial idea today, Eliot admits it, adding that a celibate would be thought to be "either a pervert or thwarted".[69]

In view of his unmanly character, Colby is the counterpart of Dionysos whose charming beauty and effeminate character are

vividly described by Euripides in The Bacchae:

> Pentheus [to Dionysos after he has been released by soldiers]:
>
> Marry, a fair shape for a woman's eye,
> .....
> Long curls, withal! That shows thou ne'er hast been
> A wrestler! - down both cheeks so softly tossed
> And winsome! And a white skin! It has cost
> Thee pains, to please thy damsels with this white
> And red of cheeks that never face the light![70]

Furthermore in his discussion of Dionysos's bisexuality, C. Kerenyi says that he is identical on the one hand with the emblem that was carried round in his cult and with the symbol concealed in the winnowing-basket, namely the Phallus; and on the other hand with the 'bearded god' who, in one of his appellations, is 'man and woman' in one person.[71]

This brings us to the hidden reflection on Dionysos's symbol of the "erect phallus" in Colby's scene with Lucasta and B. Kaghan in the second act of the original version; a scene reproduced in the printed text. Eliot's reflection on this symbol is explained by the allusion to the mixing of wine which has its sexual implications. In response to Lucasta's "I'm dying for a drink", B. Kaghan replies that he advised Colby not to learn to mix cocktails if he does not want women always dropping in on him.[72] According to Dionysos' "instructions", says Athenaios, "men were able to mix their wine with water and hence walk erect".[73] Thus the mixing of wine suggests, in view of the Dionysiac dogma, sexuality in its naked form. Hence we understand the meaning lurking beneath B. Kaghan's remark on the connection between the activity of mixing wine which

suggests the "erect phallus" and the attraction of women towards men who are skilled in such activity. In this respect, we may also understand the lascivious nature of the Chamberlaynes and their friends (in The Cocktail Party) who are deft in cocktails. Colby's scene with Lucasta at the beginning of act II which reveals her sexual infatuations is deliberately chosen to occur in the mews-flat; a place which was originally a stable for horses and mules. The setting of the place suggests a no less sexual potency than that which the mule, Dionysos' favourite animal, does.[74] This sexual connotation which Dionysos' connection with the mule raises is attested by documentary evidence: "An attic amphera in the Museo di Villa Giulia in Rome shows Dionysos on a mule on whose phallus a kantharos is hanging".[75]

* * *

The most significant analogy between Colby and Dionysos is the mythological deed of his descent to Hades in order to bring up his mother, a deed which has its counterpart in the Christian system.[76] Indeed the play in its original form stresses the persistent need of Mrs. E. [a name which suggests a word-play on the Earth-Goddess][77] for her son. Before discussing Eggerson's attempt to secure Colby for this purpose, we have to throw further light on the "Bringing up of Semele" festival.

But first a word or two on Sir Claude's house as resembling the Hades of the ancient Greek. In his explanation why he regards the collection of pottery of which he takes great care in his house, the Sir Claude of the Ur-Clerk confides to Colby:

I want a world where the form is the reality,
Of which the substantial is only a shadow.[78]

Sir Claude's yearning for a world, the form of which is the reality brings to our mind the Greek notion that "the state of things after life on this earth is the real life".[79] In addition, Sir Claude's remark on his favourite world, the "substantial" of which "is only a shadow" suggests the Greek world of the souls which takes a form similar to that of "a shadow". In Homer's Odyssey, the souls of the dead are described as "withdrawing themselves from the grasp of the living, like ... a shadow".[80] It also reminds us of the "shadow" which belongs to the "dead land" of The Hollow Men (1925).[81]

As for "the Bringing up of Semele's festival", Plutarch, in his Greek Questions, refers to this festival known as Herois, in view of whose "rites that are done in public, one may conjecture it to be a 'Bringing up of Semele'."[82] Plutarch, says Harrison, promptly conjectures, in terms of the rites known to him, that the festival is concerned mainly with the notable event of the rising of Semele who is "but a Thracian-Phrygian form of Gaia".[83] The 'Bringing up of Semele', adds Harrison, is but the return of the wealth or Year-Spirit in spring. The raising of Semele should be attended by Dionysos, for nobody can hasten this deed except her son. This is depicted on a handful of Anodos vases of which Harrison gives minute descriptions. On one of these, the Earth-Goddess is seen rising from the grave which is a sanctuary. The resurrection is attended not only by Dionysos but by horse-daimones, Satyrs and one goat-daimon. Moreover, Dionysos, himself with his thyrsos waiting for his mother to rise

up is seated near the hill.[84] One form of the myth of Dionysos' death and resurrection, recounted by Pausanias and Apollodorus, is that "he descended into Hades to bring up his mother Semele from the dead".[85] The local Argive tradition, urges Frazer, was that Dionysos went to Hades ad hoc through the Alcyonian lake; and his return from the lower world, in other words his resurrection, was annually celebrated on the spot by the Argives.[86] Thus when the God came out from Hades, he "was supposed to bring the season with him".[87]

In a similar manner, Colby has descended to the Hades of the Mulhammers at a time which coincides with the death of verdure and the slumber of nature. With his resurrection and advent to Joshua Park, Colby/Dionysos brings his mother, Mrs. E./ Semele, the sister of Mrs. Guzzard who, like Dionysos' mother, died soon after he was born. In other words, Colby's resurrection in the spring brings Mother Earth and the season with him to Joshua Park where Eggerson's garden will be blooming.[88] Also Colby's deed of bringing up Mother Earth from the underworld can be explained by Eggerson's remark on Mrs. E.'s delight for having him (Colby) with her in Joshua Park;[89] a reflection on bringing her up from the Hades of London to the vegetative land of Eggerson. In addition the "bed of tulips", subsequently deleted, which the Eggerson of the Ur-Clerk has "just put in" (note the timing of the action of the play is towards the end of the winter)[90] and expects to come out in the spring, is ipso facto the projection of the Year-spirit, i.e. of Colby/Dionysos that accords with the time of the rising of Mother Earth. The closing scene of the "First Draft" incorporates a couple of lines, subsequently left out, meant to

be the finale of the play, in which Eggerson alludes again to the tulips as a reflection on the reunion of Mother Earth and her male consort, the vegetation-God. Just before taking his leave, Eggerson, who expects Colby to be at Joshua Park the following day, promises to show him the garden in which he planted the tulips in preparation for his arrival.[91]

* * *

Closely connected with Dionysos's descent to Hades to fetch his mother is his death and resurrection; an eschatalogical doctrine which has its parallel in the Christian system. Like Jesus, Dionysos, before him was thought to be "twice-born".[92] He (Dionysos) is "supposed to have shed his blood for the salvation of the world, to have died and to have risen again".[93] In this respect, the myth of Dionysos' death and resurrection anticipated that of the crucified and resurrected Christ.[94] As a god of vegetation, Dionysos, urges Frazer, was believed to have died a violent death at the hands of the treacherous Titans, but to have been brought to life again, and his suffering, death and resurrection were enacted in his sacred rites.[95] According to one version which represented him as a son of Zeus and Demeter, his mother placed together his mangled limbs and made him young again. Another version, suggested by Macrobius, which closely resembles that of Christ suggests that shortly after his burial, Dionysos rose from the dead and ascended up to heaven,[96] i.e. Zeus raised him up, and he now sits at the right-hand of his Father.[97]

This myth of Dionysos' death, descent to Hades and resurrection which is analogous to that of Christ is adapted

in the play in its original form, just as it has already been done earlier in his poem "Mr. Apollinax".[98] Colby is in fact the son of Eggerson - the Cretan Zeus; killed in action,[99] by the modern Titans, the industrial warriors represented by Sir Claude Mulhammer. Colby's resurrection, descent to Hades and ascension to heaven is best shown by his assertion that he "had two lifetimes / And now a third" just before leaving the Mulhammers for Joshua Park.[100] The two lifetimes seem to be a reflection on the early life of Colby-Dionysos on earth, and then the period of his stay in Hades after his death. The third lifetime is his ascension to heaven. These are overt allusions to the death and resurrection of Dionysos, the prototype of Christ, and this may explain why they are left out in the Second Rough. Nevertheless the same version, i.e. the "Second Rough" incorporates the allusion to the death of Eggerson's son in action[101] whom we presume to be the risen Colby; an explicit allusion to the death and resurrection of the vegetation god, Dionysos, the prototype of Christ.

* * *

Among the characters invented to develop the Dionysos myth, Eggerson and Mrs. E. provide us with overt clues. I often wondered why Eliot has Eggerson, sometimes, refer to his wife by two names: "Mrs. E." and "Mrs. Eggerson". I suspected, then, that Mrs. Eggerson is a different person from Mrs. E. Afterwards, my suspicion was confirmed by a remark which Eliot dropped in the notes for changes between the "Second Draft" and the "Third Rough": "Mrs. E. and the Eggs' son must be mentioned".[102] In the light of this remark, we can assume that

Mrs. E. is not the same as Mrs. Eggerson. Otherwise, he would have said "Mrs. Eggs. and the Eggs' son". One may object to this view saying that Eliot perhaps uses the initial "E" for convenience. However, the two forms of names "Mrs. E" and "Mrs. Eggerson" are referred to in the text by Eggerson himself, apparently each in a context different from the other. Oddly enough, the play in its original form, shows this distinction, an act which throws light on the initial intention to model Mrs. E. on the Earth-Goddess. On the naturalistic level, Eggerson's wife is referred to as Mrs. Eggerson. Take, for example, Lucasta's teasing remark that Eggerson does not want to invite her to lunch for fear of Mrs. Eggerson. In reply, Eggerson defensively bursts out: "We will leave Mrs. Eggerson out of this, Miss Angel."[103]

Save that, Eggerson's wife is referred to by him as "Mrs. E." I often have the feeling that Eggerson is envisaged in Eliot's mind as an unmarried man. A couple of manuscript lines added to Lucasta's speech in the original version, and subsequently deleted, may substantiate my contention. The Lucasta of this version is meant to disclose a secret to Colby that she has always refused to go out with 'Eggy', though he has kept on trying.[104] These lines are originally intended to follow on the first line of Lucasta's ensuing speech which she makes on realizing that Colby is unmarried:

> Then I don't mind being seen with you in public.
> You may take me out to dinner.[105]

There is still another argument which seems to me more convincing. As much as Mrs. E. is a pun on the Earth-Mother, the 'Garden of Vegetables' is a word-play on the Earth-Mother

too. This can be deduced from a remark which Eliot has Eggerson drop in the original draft; a remark which is reproduced too in the printed text. Eggerson advises Colby not to encourage Lucasta so that she would not be a nuisance to him, adding that he (Eggerson) never encouraged her. In reply Colby says:

> But you have Mrs. Eggerson.
> Eggerson: yes, she's a great protection. And I
> have my garden
> To protect me against Mrs. E. That's
> my joke.[106]

Prima facie, Eggerson, as a married man, is protected from the advances made by women, like Lucasta, and the allusion to the garden as the thing which protects Eggerson against Mrs. E. is just a joke as the speaker says. In order to disguise the hidden meaning and avoid any confusion on the part of the audience, Eliot adds "That's my joke." But the hidden meaning is probably this: the Earth-Goddess in the form of the garden protects him from his wife, in the sense that it is his refuge where he spends most of his time away from his wife. I find confirmation of this meaning in a handful of lines, subsequently omitted, in which Eggerson prefers to avoid his garrulous wife by resorting to his garden, as soon as he arrives home at night; a habit which makes her "complain that she can't get a word out of me".[107] This view seems to be tenable, for Eggerson's garden seems to be inhabited by the Goddess whom he reverences in meditation just as the speaker of Ash Wednesday who worships the Mother Goddess, the "Lady of Silences", whose "Garden" is the one "where all love ends".[108] Viewed in this perspective, Eggerson's garden may be seen as a projection of the earliest

matriarchal society, reigned over by the Earth-Goddess and the religion of Dionysos which, according to Henri Bergson, reflects the sense of "duree", that life which is one indivisible and yet ceaselessly changing",[109] or in Nietzsche's words, "the reconciliation of nature with her lost son".[110]

* * *

Eggerson's connection with the Earth-Goddess is explained not only by his worship of her, but by the fact that he acquires certain traits which entitle him to be her real devotee and confidential clerk. As Eggerson is the sole worshipper of the Earth-Goddess, he is the only man who deserves the right to preside over the meeting that resolves the tangles of the mistaken identity of Colby. The Earth-Goddess Themis acquires two functions in Homer. First she "convenes and dissolves" the meeting. Second, she "presides over the feast".[111] Zeus relies on her in summoning the gods: He has to "bid Themis call the gods to council from many-folded Olympos' brow. And she ranged all about and bade them to the house of Zeus."[112] In Harrison's words, Themis is "the very spirit of the assembly incarnate".[113] Apparently the skill in presiding over the meeting was assigned to Eggerson as a consequence of an after-thought. The prose outline does not refer to Eggerson as the convener of the meeting at which he will cross-examine Mrs. Guzzard with respect to Colby's parentage. Eggerson is not meant to appear in act III as its prose outline reveals.[114] Beneath Eliot wrote: "Query: is there any way of bringing Eggleson back at the end?"[115] Presumably, the remark had been made before Eliot embarked on

writing the original draft, for act III of this version shows Eggerson as the only person who directs the inquiry into Colby's true identity. In this version Sir Claude, having decided to summon Mrs. Guzzard to clear up the tangles, decides to send for Eggerson also, as "his presence will be helpful" for the proceeding of the enquiry.[116] In the "First Draft", a couple of lines in which Lady Elizabeth insists that Sir Claude "ought to get Eggerson" for this purpose is incorporated.[117] In the course of recension, a few lines passim to show how competent Eggerson is in conducting the proceedings, such as Sir Claude's intention

> To put Eggerson there, behind the desk.
> You see, I want him to be a sort of chairman.[118]

And his exhortation of Eggerson to

> put the case to her [Mrs. Guzzard].
> Don't let her think that I have any doubts:
> You are putting the questions on behalf of my wife.[119]

The prophetic power with which Eggerson is endowed also derives from the Earth-Goddess, who is believed to be the sole projection of oracle at Delphi long before Apollo supplanted her. Childless people used to consult her as to whether they will have posterity, for she was "in a sense prophecy incarnate".[120] Aeschylus' Eumenides opens with Pythia's invocation of the Earth-Goddess as the primeval Deity whose peculiar capacity of fortune-telling had been inherited from her by her successors.[121] Further "Themis", herself, a form of the Earth-Goddess bears a name which implies the sense of ordaining the fate of mankind, and giving the decision as to what should

be done. The English equivalent of the Greek term "Themis", explains J. Harrison, is "Doom" which is "the thing set, fixed, settled".[122] Themis is believed to have arisen out of "themistes" that are "the ordinances of what must be done", and they are "the prophecies of what shall be in the future".[123] In Euripides' Hecuba, the Earth-Goddess is invoked as the one who predicts fate and the occurrence of happenings through dreams which she conveys to human beings.[124]

Obviously the prophetic power of the Goddess found its way into the portrayal of the Eggerson of the original version, in which he predicts that Colby will arrive at Joshua Park in the spring;[125] a prediction which is fulfilled. By way of enhancing Eggerson's skill in prophecy, his prediction that Colby will "want a garden of his own",[126] is incorporated in the "Third Rough".[127] In addition, the Eggerson of the Ur-Clerk is meant to foretell the result of the inquiry into the identities of B. Kaghan and Colby before Mrs. Guzzard, who holds the key to their identities, could say anything about them. In reply to the suggestion about whether it is tactful that B. Kaghan and Lucasta would be present whether Mrs. Guzzard is being cross-examined, Eggerson urges that they ought to join later for they are "all in the family ... of that I'm convinced"; a prediction which is deleted in the acting version.[128] Eggerson's remark throws light in advance on the outcome of Mrs. Guzzard's revelation, according to which B. Kaghan, who is revealed as Lady Elizabeth's illegitimate son, married Lucasta, the daughter of his step-father Sir Claude. As a consequence B. Kaghan and Lucasta are "all in the family", as Eggerson predicted.

One further affinity which Eggerson has with the Earth-Goddess in the form of Themis concerns "Nemesis". Themis is

said to have been worshipped at Rhamnus by the side of Nemesis, herself.[129] In Thessaly, she was invoked by "the title Ichnaios, the 'Tracker', which links her with Nemesis and Erinys".[130] Despite the fact that Sir Claude has sponsored Colby since he was born, Eggerson secures him, for he is originally the son of the Earth-Goddess. The Eggerson of the 'Ur-Clerk' is said to have come to the city at the age of sixteen,[131] not to satisfy his greed for money-hoarding as the Semitic Sir Claude and B. Kaghan do, but apparently to track the son of the Earth-Goddess, doing his best to release him from the tightened grip of Sir Claude, the patriarchal imposter, who inverted the matrilineal social structure. Here lies the significance of Eggerson's role as the locum tenens who handles poetic justice according to the Goddess' law which stipulates that her son, Colby-Dionysos should withdraw from the patriarchal society in favour of Joshua Park where she is highly esteemed by the chthonic Zeus-Eggerson.

* * *

Like Eggerson, the original conception of Lady Elizabeth reveals her struggle against patriarchal influence in favour of the Dionysiac religion. She is portrayed as if she were a maenad Her predilection for this religion can be explained first by the description of her as a huntress and then by her keen interest in dervish dancing. The initial account of Lady Elizabeth as a huntress[132] is subsequently replaced by that of "a man-eating tiger".[133] This latter description of Lady Elizabeth, put in the mouth of B. Kaghan who warns Colby against her, is apparently a reflection on Agave, Pentheus' mother. As

a maenad, Agave, under the influence of the orgiastic Bacchanal feast of Dionysos rushed as wild as a tiger mutilating her son who disputed the godhead of Dionysos.[134] The idea of hunting attached to the maenads derives from Dionysos himself who is the arch-hunter. He is so described by the chorus of The Bacchae: "a hunter is Bacchus, our King".[135] A somewhat similar description is given by Aeschylus in the Eumenides, where Dionysos is said to have led the maenads "To hunt down Pentheus".[136]

Also Lady Elizabeth's wandering by herself on the Continent connects her with the maenads who aspire to the release from the shackles of male supremacy. The Ur-Clerk opens with a scene between Lady Elizabeth and Sir Claude in which she discusses her immediate trip to Switzerland under the pretext of medical treatment;[137] a scene though omitted in the Second Rough, which is recapitulated in the first act of the finished text. The timing of her trip to Switzerland is October,[138] subsequently dropped. This time of the year coincides with the season of the Bacchanal revels of Thrace and Thessaly held in October. In this festival, they rushed wildly about on the mountains, waving branches spirally wreathed with ivy in honour of Dionysos and the Earth-Goddess.[139]

Lady Elizabeth's fascination with "dervish rituals" is another indication of her interest in the Dionysaic religion. Sir Claude accuses Lady Elizabeth of making him feel that her interest in dervishes is much too deep for discussion with him. In response, Lady Elizabeth defends this ritual from which much is learnt:

Dervish dancing!
Really, Claude, how absurd you are!
Not that there isn't a lot to be learnt,
I don't doubt from the dervish rituals.[140]

Dervish dancing is thought to be a Moslem practice originally founded by Jelaluddin Rumi at Konya (iconium) on the Anatolian plateau, in the centre of modern Turkey, under Seljuk Turkish rule in the thirteenth century.[141] However it is now clear that this practice derives from the Phrygian form of the Bacchanal dancing in honour of Dionysos. As the Turkish "have never had the reputation of being naturally orthodox Moslems", urges Guthrie, "they have hankered after the religion of their Phrygian forefathers",[142] who believed they could easily possess knowledge of the divine with the movement of their muscles.[143] In view of this, Lady Elizabeth's preoccupation with dervish dancing suggests that she is one of the maenads, "whose central dogma of their worship is the religion of the Mother and the Child, which they shouted aloud when they are half-mad with excitement".[144] It is in terms of this dogma that Lady Elizabeth rather than her husband is the one to whom the lost child (B. Kaghan) is restored in the end.

* * *

So far, we have seen that the original version of The Confidential Clerk shows clearly the adaptation of the major motifs of the Dionysos legend. The motif of the death and resurrection of Dionysos which closely resembles that of Christ found its way to the original version. Like Dionysos whom the Titans murdered, but who .. resurrected, Colby is killed in

action by the modern Titans. His resurrection and ascension to heaven, like Dionysos and his Biblical counterpart Christ, are given expression in the original version. The description of the Colby of the original version as having two "lifetimes" is so manifest that he left it out in the course of revision. Dionysos as the vegetation god who is required by Mother Earth is the other motif which is adapted in the original version. To this motif is closely connected the descent of Colby-Dionysos to Hades to bring up his mother Mrs. E.-Semele in the spring. Apart from these motifs, the original version assigns to Colby certain traits which are characteristic of Dionysos. Eggerson, too, acquires certain traits which are peculiar to Mother Earth, and he therefore plays the role of her confidential clerk rather than Sir Claude's as he, in the end, secures Colby for Mother Earth.

* * *

The changes made in the "Second Rough" are concerned with the enhancement of the dramatis personae, especially Colby and Eggerson who play a major part in developing the motifs of the legend above mentioned. These changes are remarkably salient, and they all indicate the coup de grâce with respect to some of the details which are missing in the early drafts. Colby as Dionysos receives much more attention than any other character at this stage of the play's development. The most prominent change made with a view to establishing affinities between Dionysos and Colby is related to the maternal origin of the hero, who, like his Greek counterpart, is supposed to be the

son of the mother who died in childbirth. In other words, the Colby of the "Second Rough" is modelled after Dionysos so far as the supposed mother, Mrs. Guzzard's sister who died in childbirth is concerned. Hence the detail of Colby's descent to Hades, like Dionysos, to fetch his mother in the spring.

The mother of the Colby of the original version and the "First Draft" is Mrs. Guzzard.[145] By the time Eliot wrote the "Second Rough" the motif of the maternal origin of Dionysos as the son of Semele who did not survive her child's birth has been introduced at this stage of the play's evolution. The notes for changes between the "First Draft" and the "Second Rough" show the great deal of effort exerted in making the dead sister of Mrs. Guzzard assume the role of Colby's mother. Her death in childbirth which recalls that of Semele is stressed: "Claude", reads the notes for changes, "believes Colby to be his son by a deceased sister of Mrs. Guzzard (dead in childbirth)".[146] The labour pains and death of a woman in childbirth were thought by the Greeks to be the consequential punishment for her loss of virginity in an illicit union.[147] Once more Eliot is shown at pains in order to make the version of the dead sister appear as plausible as possible on the naturalistic level:

> The sister had convinced herself and informed Claude that she was going to have a child. After her death in hospital, ... a letter comes from Claude to Mrs. G. which makes it clear that Claude ... [i.e. that Claude is the child's father].
>
> Claude, on hearing that sister is ill in hospital, assumes that she is in childbed. Arranges to return at once, finds Mrs. G. with baby (suddenly widowed) and takes for granted that the child is his ... etc.[148]

The play, in its finished form, retains this version, as is apparent from the following exchanges between Lady Elizabeth and Colby:

> Lady E.: And as for your mother - Mrs. Guzzard's sister, I suppose ...
> Colby: Her sister - which makes Mrs. Guzzard my aunt.[149]

And again in the recognition scene, Eliot has Mrs. Guzzard refer to the invented story of her dead sister and the expected child in an attempt to convince Sir Claude:

> .... When you went to Canada
> My sister found that she was to have a child:
> That much is true. I also was expecting one.
> That you did not know. It did not concern you.
> As I have just said my sister died
> Before the child could be born.[150]

Grover Smith, who rightly thinks that Eliot let the resolution of the identities of B. Kaghan and Colby depend on imperfect evidence, observes that Colby, by implication, is the son of the dead sister:

> .... The 'evidence' would be consistent with the Guzzards' having had a child, and with the sister's having had a child; with the Guzzards' child's having died, and with the sister's child's having lived - and the living child, beyond cavil, is Colby.[151]

But what Professor Smith did not seem to realize, nor did the other critics of Eliot, is that Colby's maternal origin is contrived in such an ambiguous way as to be interpreted on different planes. In brief, the Mrs. Guzzard's sister of the

"Second Rough" is a version of Semele who "was already dead when Dionysos was born".[152]

Further in bringing up Colby after the death of her sister, Mrs. Guzzard has come to acquire a further trait which connects her with Ino, Semele's sister who reared Dionysos after the death of his mother. Ino was so proud of looking after Dionysos that her deep concern with her nephew aroused the jealousy of Juno who so severely tortured her that she lept into the sea and thereupon was transformed into a sea-goddess Leucothea.[153]

To model Colby's maternal origin on that of Dionysos, the Second Rough draws our attention not only to the mortal Semele of the Kadmus' family, assigned to Dionysos for the purpose of preaching in Thebes,[154] but also to the original Semele who is another version of Demeter. Nietzsche identified Dionysos' mother with Demeter who, "sunk in eternal sadness" when her son was dismembered", rejoices again only when told that she may once more give birth to Dionysos".[155] A.B. Cook urges that Semele was but another form of Ge, the Earth-Goddess, whose tomb has been found beside that of Ge in the little chapel in the Pythian temple; a finding which indicates that the tomb "had been there ... from time immemorial".[156] Harrison, philologically, interprets the name "Semele" as signifying "earth", suggesting that she was probably there long before the coming of Zeus, for she is the earth itself.[157] The point which I want to establish is this: whatever form Dionysos' mother assumed, she was connected with the earth. Hence, Colby's mother, the dead sister of the "Second Rough" is on the mythical level, the counterpart of Semele. She is identified with Mrs. E. with whom Colby-Dionysos reunites in Joshua Park after

his emergence with her from the Hades of the Mulhammers in London.

The other modification made in the portrayal of the Colby of the "Second Rough" with the Dionysos myth, kept in view, concerns his preoccupation with the organ. The notes for changes between the "First Draft" and the "Second Rough" anticipates Colby's interest in the organ, and the possible means by which he is instructed in playing it: "Organist: he must have had some lessons (should he have been away at school or at day-school ... so as to have been taught by local organist?).[158] The consequence of these preparatory notes is that the version of Colby as an organist has found its way into the "Second 'Rough'"; a version which the finished text reproduces, too. Thus, on the surface level, Colby is said to be going to Joshua Park where a vacancy of a church organist, sugested by Eggerson, is awaiting him:

> Eggerson: Is it true, Mr. Simpkins, that what you desire
> Is to become the organist of some parish church?
> Colby: That is what I want. If anyone will take me.
> Eggerson: If so, I happen to know of a vacancy
> In my own parish, in Joshua Park.[159]

The occupation of Colby as organist replaces the original version of his intended vocation as verger; a vocation which he is meant to pursue at Joshua Park parish, under the influence of Eggerson.[160]

The reason why Eliot substituted the verger occupation for the organist vocation is not difficult to explain. Music, as mentioned earlier,[161] is one of the means by which Semele was

thought to be brought up. But what kind of instrument was used for this purpose? Harrison assures us that it is a double flute;[162] in view of which we can understand its connection with the organ. It is known that there are one or more flute stops among the foundation stops of most organs; a connection which explains why the tone of the flute-stop organ resembles closely that of a flute.[163] In view of this analogy between the two instruments, Colby's organ is the modern counterpart of the ancient flute whose tone along with the presence of Dionysos contributed to the resurrection of Semele in the spring when verdure is restored to the dead land. The flute is the same musical instrument by which the advent of spring in the Garden of Ash Wednesday is celebrated by Mother-Earth, Demeter, with whom Semele is identified, whose colour, according to Frazer, is green because of her representation of the green corn.[164] "The broad backed figure drest in ... green / Enchanted the maytime with an antique flute."[165]

In assigning a musical career to Colby in the Joshua Park, a place where the culture is mainly chthonian, Eliot seems to have in mind the primitive notion which regarded music as a means by which the growth of plants is promoted. Musical instruments, observes Frazer, were played by the primitive people at the time of sowing the seeds: Near Timbo in French Guinea, says Frazer, natives at work were preparing the land for cultivation, and the whole process was accompanied by the sound of musical instruments thought to be "necessary for exorcising the spirits and causing the grain to sprout".[166] Similarly the people in Calicut in Southern India resort to music at the time of sowing the seeds, a practice which they think will make the

seed very productive.[167] Seen in this way, Colby's music is intended to promote the growth of plants in Joshua Park. This explains why Eggerson offers Colby the vacancy of an organist in his parish. He envies Colby for his musical talent.[168] Prima facie, Colby's music will be made use of in the worship of God; while the deeper significance of it can be explained by its impact on the furtherance of the growth of plants.

In connection with music, too, Colby resembles Dionysos in respect of his feeling of second-rateness. It is true that Dionysos adores music which enchants him; or in J. Harrison's words, he is shown "drunken" in his ecstasy, not with wine, but with music.[169] Nevertheless he is not so competent as Orpheus, for "music was never of his essence".[170] Similarly, the Colby of the "Second Rough" is a person who is portrayed as a second-rate musician. This is apparent from the exchanges first introduced in the "Second Rough",[171] in which Eggerson and Sir Claude discuss the disappointment which Colby feels with respect to his being unable to fulfil his ambition.[172] Also, the Second Draft enhances Colby's feeling of second-rateness by the incorporation of the following lines,[173] which the play in its finished form retains, reflecting the fact that he has given up his over-ambitious attempt to be an unparagoned organist, nulli secundus:

> I want to be an organist.
> It doesn't matter about success -
> I aimed too high before - beyond my capacity.
> I thought I didn't want to be an organist
> When I found I had no chance of getting to the top -
> That is, to become the organist of a Cathedral.[174]

* * *

In addition to the modification relating to Colby's maternal origin and his musical background, both of which bring him closer to Dionysos, part of act II of the "Second Rough" shows Colby as expressing interest in plants which strengthens his affinity with Dionysos, the god of vegetation. Dionysos is so closely linked to the Goddess figure that we cannot overlook his role as the god of plants, who has far-reaching effect on fertility. Also Dionysos is the most striking representation of the chthonic religion. It is a religion under the influence of which primitive man transcended the gap between his private life and the outside world, at a time when the Earth-Goddess was thought to be the stuff of which religious representations were made. In this connection, J. Harrison writes:

> In the early days of group civilization man is altogether ... under the sway of Themis, of the collective conscience. His religion, his representation, is that of ... a plant, a mere projection of his sense of unity with his group and with the outside world. The obligation is so complete, so utterly dominant, that he is scarcely conscious of it.[175]

Such an integration of man's inner life and the outside world is what Henri Bergson, in his discussion of Dionysos, labels "durée", i.e. the indivisibility of life despite its ceaseless change.[176]

Now, let us see to what extent Eliot was impressed by the impact of the religion of plants on the avoidance of binary existence. This impact, apparently, found its way to Colby's scene with Lucasta in act II of the "Second 'Rough'" where Eliot has Colby believe that there is no solution to the avoidance of

the two lives, the private and the public, he is leading except by owning a garden, like that of Eggerson. Such a modification has been anticipated by a remark in the notes for changes between the "First Draft" and the "Second 'Rough'", which reads: "Develop exchanges about their [Colby's and Lucasta's] history and background."[177] Colby's "history and background" turns out to be the commonplace malady of the irreconcilability between one's private life and the outside world. Part of the scene which is introduced in the "Second Rough" shows Colby as complaining to Lucasta about the "sense of insecurity" arising from the split between the private and public life, a contemporary morbid ailment which Eliot seems to have elaborated by drawing upon F.H. Bradley's metaphysical investigation into the relation between appearance and reality. Note the following exchanges between Lucasta and Colby which are reproduced in the printed text:

> Lucasta: .....
> But it's only the outer world that you've
> lost:
> You've still got your inner world - a world
> that's more real.
> That's why you're different from the rest of us:
> You have your secret garden; to which you can
> retire
> And lock the gate behind you -
>
> Colby: And lock the gate behind me?
> Are you sure that you haven't your own
> secret garden
> Somewhere, if you could find it?
>
> Lucasta: If I could find it!
> No, my only garden is ... a dirty public square
> In a shabby part of London .....
> .....

Colby: .....
I'm sure that there is a garden somewhere for you -
For anyone who wants one as much as you do.

Lucasta: And your garden is a garden
Where you hear a music that no one else could hear,
And the flowers have a scent that no one else could smell.

Colby: You may be right, up to a point.
And yet, you know, it's not quite real to me -
Although it's as real to me as .... this world.
But that's just the trouble. They seem so unrelated.
I turn the key, and walk through the gate,
And there I am ... alone, in my 'garden'.
Alone, that's the thing. That's why it's not real.[178]

The gap between the inner world of an individual and the outside world, or the apparent and the real, both of which give rise to the divisible life is what Eliot seems to have derived from F.H. Bradley, the Oxford idealist on whose philosophy Eliot wrote his doctorate dissertation.[179] However, whereas Bradley insists that there is connection between the world of appearance and that of reality,[180] Eliot insists that the two worlds are irreconcilable at the present time: "My mind ... is a point of view from which I cannot possibly escape";[181] or the remark put in Colby's mouth, above mentined, especially that concerning the unrelatedness of the private and public worlds; or that given to Mary in The Family Reunion, where she describes Harry's experience as an apparently deceptive one, "however real, however cruel" it may seem.[182]

Yet, Bradley's description of a soul within a closed circle of consciousness, detached from the outside world is reiterated by Eliot not only in the scene between Colby and Lucasta, but

also in The Waste Land. In the appended notes to this poem, Eliot acknowledges Bradley as the source of his treatment of the enclosed circle ["we think of the key, each in his prison / ... etc." which the modern man is induced to create in an attempt to shut himself up from the outside world. The Bradley passage upon which Eliot drew in writing these lines is from Appearance and Reality. It is appropriate to cite it here, for its bearing on the exchanges between Colby and Lucasta, above cited:

> My external sensations are no less private to my self than are my thoughts or my feelings. In either case my experience falls within my own circle, a circle closed on the outside; and, with all its elements alike, every sphere is opaque to the others which surround it .... In brief, regarded as an existence which appears in a soul, the whole world for each is peculiar and private to that soul.[183]

While Eliot thinks that the apparent and the real cannot be reconciled under the present conditions of religious beliefs, he endorses the chthonic religion of primitive man, a religion which bridges the gap between one's private and public life. He recommends the religion which can be seen "as the whole way of life of a people, from birth to the grave, from morning to night and even in sleep, and the way of life is also its culture".[184] In particular, the agricultural society seems to him the nearest modern version of the primitive society when man's reverence of plants had projected, says Harrison, "his sense of unity with his group and with the outside world".[185] In The Idea of a Christian Society, Eliot expressed a similar view to that of Harrison, when he discussed the "community unit" that ought to

be established in the parish which anticipates that of Joshua Park, where Eggerson lives. In this ideal rural parish, Eliot writes,

> a small and mostly self-contained group attached to the soil and having its interests centred in a particular place, with a kind of unity which may be designed, but which also has to grow through generations. It is the idea, or ideal of a community small enough to consist of a nexus of direct personal relationships, in which all iniquities and turpitudes will take the simple and easily appreciable form of wrong relations between one person and another.[186]

In view of this passage, it is the rural life, with its religion of plants and soil, that helps people to achieve unity through esprit de corps which contributes to the reconciliation between the person and the surrounding world. Therefore, it is not too much to say that Eliot was closely acquainted with the primitive religion of plants, as represented by Dionysos; a religion which elicits the indivisibility of one's life. To this effect, Eliot incorporates some more speeches in act II of the "Second 'Rough'", where the emphasis is laid on Eggerson's garden as the sole means by which the ideal and the actual or the private and the public lives are integrated. Hence Colby's exigency and vaulting ambition to possess a garden of plants like that of Eggerson, depreciating at the same time, his "garden of music", which tempts him to live in two separate worlds, just as Sir Claude's "garden of pottery" prompts him to do. The following lines show the role which a real garden like Eggerson's plays in bridging the gulf between one's private and public lives:

Colby: .....
... my garden's no less unreal to me
Than the world outside it. If you have two lives
Which have nothing whatever to do with each other.
Well, they're both unreal. But for Eggerson
His garden is part of one single world.[187]

* * *

So far, we have seen the changes made in the "Second Rough" relating to Colby's maternal origin, his future career, and his interest in vegetation and plants, all of which add to his Dionysiac character. The most substantial changes are: first the introduction of Mrs. Guzzard's dead sister as Colby's mother who, like Semele, died in childbirth. Second, the assignment of Colby to Mrs. Guzzard, his aunt, soon after the death of his mother closely resembles the assignment of Dionysos to his aunt, Ino, the sister of the deceased Semele. Further Dionysos' mythical deed of bringing up Semele in the spring has been enhanced by the Eggerson of the "Second Rough" who strives not only to disentitle Sir Claude's paternal claim on Colby, but to induce the latter to follow him to Joshua Park in the spring for the important affair of bringing up Mrs. E., the Earth Mother. In addition to these, the original conception of Eggerson is revised with a view to making him display a greater concern with the vital issue of securing the son of Semele. The Eggerson of the original version, it should be noted, endorses the revelation of Colby's identity as the son of a dead father by his casual brief remark: "it is all for the best".[188] Eggerson's greater concern with Colby which prompts him to support Mrs. Guzzard's deception of Sir Claude is what the

"Second Rough" incorporates. In this version Eliot inserts a handful of speeches in which Eggerson is made to support Mrs. Guzzard's disclosure of Colby's parentage which is meant to release him from Sir Claude's grip.[189] Eggerson advocates Mrs. Guzzard's contention that Colby is not the son of Sir Claude whom he exhorts to accept the position and believe Mrs. Guzzard's story.[190]

* * *

Finally we turn to the discussion of the changes made in the late drafts. The detail of the spring as the time of Colby's "resurrection", when he emerges from the Hades of the Mulhammers, and joins Mrs. E. in Joshua Park is what the final versions introduce. The reflection on the advent of the spring, the time of the resurrection of Colby-Dionysos, is introduced in the "Final Text". In this version the detail of the window-boxes which Eggerson suggests should be installed in the mews-flat of Colby,[191] is meant to remind Colby of the coming of the spring so that he leaves the under-world of the Mulhammers. In other words, the window-boxes suggested by Eggerson are juxtaposed with the piano which Sir Claude proposes for Colby's convenience so that the latter could acclimatize himself to the nether-environment of the Mulhammers.[192] However, Colby, in the end, rejects the piano which belongs to the Hades of the Mulhammers in favour of the garden of Joshua Park, where he, like Dionysos is resurrected, bringing up with him Mrs. E.-Semele, the Anodos or the spirit of the spring.

The other detail inserted in the "Final Text" is Colby's interest in bird-watching. Birds, we said,[193] were sacred to

Ishtar, and Colby as Sargon was interested in them ad hoc. Here too, at the level of the Hellenic myth, Colby's interest in birds arouses from their being sacred to the Earth-Goddess. The Goddess, notes J. Harrison, was "but the humanized, deified form of the holy bird".[194] Colby's interest in birds, too, can be explained in terms of J.G. Frazer's account of birds which were thought by primitive people to be the chief cause of the rainfall and the advent of the spring.[195] Also they were thought to have actually made the weather itself. For this reason primitive man developed the habit of bird watching. As J. Harrison writes:

> The notion that by watching a bird you can divine the weather is preceded by the far more primitive notion that the bird by his mana actually makes the weather, makes and brings the rain, the thunder, the sunshine and the spring.[196]

Our chief concern here is with the connection between birds and the advent of the spring. Primitive people were able to know that the spring had come by watching birds. In terms of this discussion, it seems obvious that Colby's habit of bird watching is incorporated in the "Final Text" with a view not only to revere what is sacred to the Earth-Goddess, but to know the coming of the spring, the time when he is resurrected and emerges with Mrs. E.-Semele from Hades.

* * *

To sum up, the Dionysos legend: the parental origin of Dionysos, his death and resurrection, his descent to Hades in

order to bring up his Mother Earth in the spring are the salient motifs which are adapted in The Confidential Clerk. We have traced the growth and development of the legend throughout the drafts. Our examination of the drafts has shown that the legend has its origin sown in the earliest draft material. The prose outline incorporates allusions to the legend. Eggerson's initiation of Colby anticipates the transformation of the motif of Colby-Dionysos as a vegetation-god who annually dies and is resurrected. In the Ur-Clerk, the major motifs of the Dionysos legend find their way into the text. Apart from the personal traits which Colby and Dionysos have in common, the most important detail is that of Eggerson's anticipation of Colby's emergence from Hades in the Spring and his arrival at Joshua Park when the garden will be blooming. In other words, the attention is focused on the death, descent to Hades and resurrection of Colby-Dionysos, the vegetation-god, a detail which has shaped that of Christ. Sir Claude's house in which Colby stays during the winter represents the Greek Hades into which the vegetation-god descends after his death, and from which he emerges in the spring. Dionysos' heroic deed of rescuing his mother from Hades in the spring is suggested by Mrs. E.'s desire that Colby would call on her in the spring.

The composition of the "Second Rough" results in the omission of the overt allusion to the two lifetimes of Colby which suggests his death and resurrection. Apparently this allusion has been dropped for the purpose of concealing this detail which is closely connected with Christ. The most notable addition to the "Second Rough" is the detail of Colby-Dionysos' deceased mother who died in childbirth. Introduced, too, into

this version is the motif of the motherless infant Colby-Dionysos, being brought up by his aunt, after the death of his mother in childbirth. Further, Colby-Dionysos' interest in music is one more detail which is incorporated at this stage of the play's progress. This detail is introduced in order to enhance the one in the Ur-Clerk, respecting Colby-Dionysos' deed of bringing up in the spring his mother, whose emergence is furthered by music. Colby-Dionysos as a vegetation-god whom the original version has given slight portrayal is enhanced in the "Second Rough". In this version, the central character expresses great interest in horticulture. In the last stage of the play's evolution, we notice that the emphasis is focused on the spring as the time of Colby's resurrection and emergence from the Hades of the Mulhammers, a time when he, as Dionysos, reunites with Mother Earth. This résumé brings to an end our discussion of the adapted version of the Dionysos legend throughout the drafts. To what extent the Dionysos legend is adapted in a way which shows that it has inspired the relevant motifs in the story of Christ is the object of our discussion in the following chapter.

Notes

1. C. Kerenyi, Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976, p. xxvi.

2. T.S.Eliot, Notes towards the Definiton of Culture, p. 28.

3. John M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 373.

4. Hugo Rahner, Greek Myths and Christian Mystery, translated from the German by B. Battershaw, Burns & Oates, London, 1963, p. 27.

5. Quoted in Ibid, pp 27-28.

6. Quoted in Ibid, p. 45.

7. Ibid. pp, 29-30.

8. S. Angus, The Mystery-Religions and Christianity, John Murray, London, 1925, pp. 43-4.

9. T. S. Eliot, Notes towards the Definition of Culture, pp. 31-2.

10. See Infra, p. 151.

11. T. S. Eliot, "The Function of Criticism" (1923) in Selected Essays, pp. 32-33.

12. J G Frazer, The Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris, II, Macmillan & Co Ltd, London, 1914, 99.

13. See, e.g. Robertson's articles "Burns and his Race" in The Criterion, VII (January-June 1928), 33-46, 154-168; "The Evolution of English Blank Verse" in The Criterion, II (October 1923 - July 1924), 171-187; "The Naturalistic Theory of Hamlet" in The Criterion, III (October 1924 - July 1925), 172-192.

14. See Eliot's review of Bertrand Russell's Why I am not a Christian in The Criterion, VI (August 1927), 179.

15. See Supra, p. 131 .

16. John M Robertson, A Short History of Christianity, pp. 62-63,

17. T. S. Eliot, "Euripides and Professor Murray", Selected Essays, p. 62.

18. 11 265-271.

19. See also Plato's Timaeus in The Dialogues of Plato, III, 712.

20. 11 543-4.

21. 11 18-24.

22. Jane E. Harrison, Themis: A Study of the social origins of Greek Religion, The University Press, Cambridge, 1912, p. 264.

23. Ibid.

24. Jane E Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, The University Press, Cambridge, 1903, p. 411.

25. Ibid.

26. W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, Methuen & Co., London, 1956, p. 56.

27. Harrison, Themis, p. 523.

28. T. S. Eliot "Virgil and the Christian World" in On Poetry and Poets, p. 124.

29. See Infra, p. 182 n. 98

30. Cleanth Brooks, "Review of Monroe K. Spears' Dionysos and the City, in Sewanee Review, 80 (Spring 1972), 366.

31. Park McGinty, Interpretation and Dionysos, Mouton Publishers, The Hague, Paris & New York, 1978, p. 1.

32. Ibid.

33. J. Harrison, Themis, p. 495.

34. Ibid.

35. E. O. James, The Cult of the Mother-Goddess, p. 113. Semele signifies the Earth. According to J. E. Harrison, the Phrygian form of the name "Semele" confirms to the Greek form as in both cases, the form means "earth" (Prolegomena, p. 405).

36. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 251.

37. Themis, p. 34.

38. Ibid, pp. 35-38.

39. Ibid, p. 23.

40. Ibid, p. x.

41. Ur-Clerk, I.i. p. 10.

42. Ur-Clerk, I.i. p. 11.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Printed Text, III, p. 516. In the Ur-Clerk, Colby states that the only way he can find his father is to "find his father's life" (III.iii p. 26).

46. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. p. 18.

47. Printed Text, III, p. 513.

48. Printed Text, III, p. 513.

49. See Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's plays, p. 250.

50. Mythologically speaking, the fertility of women influences the fertility of the fields, but the rich growth of plants in turn assists women towards the conceiving (M. Eliade, Op. Cit., p. 354).

51. Most of the land of Teddington is Taplow gravel, and in certain parts it is flood plain gravel (see The Victoria History of the Counties of England, ed. R. B. Pugh, Oxford University Press, London, 1962, p. 66). According to the Metropolitan Green Belt Map, Teddington is not within the Green Belt area and above all it is a built-up area which is residential.

52. For this alteration, see the prose outline in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 251.

53. See Henry Harrison, Surnames of the United Kingdom, II, the Moorland Press, London, 1918, 167.

54. See OED.

55. J. Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 405.

56. W. J. Perry, The Origin of Magic and Religion, Methuen & Co. Ltd, London, 1923, pp. 28-9.

57. See Infra, p. 173.

58. Ur-Clerk, I.ii. p. 13. Printed Text, I. p. 461.

59. For this view of the vegetation god and his connection with the source of life, see Jessie L. Weston, From Ritual to Romance, The University Press, Cambridge, 1920, p. 149.

60. Ur-Clerk, II.i. p. 5. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 263.

61. Jessie L. Weston, op. cit., p. 119.

62. Quoted in C. G. Jung and C. Kerenyi, Introduction to a Science of Mythology, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1951, p. 91.

63. Jung and Kereny, Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ur-Clerk, I.iii, p. 16.

66. Ur-Clerk, III.iii, p. 27.

67. II.i. p. 2.

68. Helen Gardner, "The 'Aged Eagle' spreads his Wings", The Sunday Times, 21 September 1958, p. 8, col. 6.

69. Ibid.

70. p. 99. References to The Bacchae are from G. Murray's translated version in The Athenian Drama, III, George Allen, London, 1906.

71. C. G. Jung and C. Kerenyi, op. cit., p. 93.

72. Ur-Clerk, II.i. p. 10. Printed Text, II, p. 479.

73. Quoted in C Kerenyi, op. cit., pp. 162-3.

74. For the connection between Dionysos and the mule, see C. Kerenyi, Ibid, p. 169.

75. Ibid., pp. 169-70.

76. See Infra, pp.193 ff.

77. See Infra, pp. 153-55.

78. Ur-Clerk, I.iii. p. 12. Printed Text, I, p. 464.

79. Erwin Rohde, Psyche, The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks, Kegan Paul, London, 1925, p. 4.

80. See Ibid. p. 5

81. Poems and Plays, p. 85

82. Quoted in Harrison, Themis, p. 416.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid., pp. 419-20.

85. Quoted in J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Spirits of the Corn, I, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1914, 15.

86 Frazer, Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Ur-Clerk, I.ii. p. 13. Printed Text, I, p. 461.

89. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. p. 26. Printed Text, III, p. 518.

90. Printed Text, I, p. 445.

91. First Draft, III.iii. p. 31., in D9, p. 438.

92. See J. M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 435.

93. Arthur Drews, The Christ Myth, T. Fisher Unwins, London, 1910, p. 137.

94. Joseph Campbell, The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology, Secker & Warburg, London, 1960, pp. 182-3.

95. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Spirits of the Corn, I, 12.

96. See Frazer, Ibid, p. 14.

97. Robert Graves, Greek Myths, Cassell, London, 1965, p. 106.

98. John Vickery has noted Eliot's adaptation of this myth in Eliot's poem "Mr Apollinax". The murder of Dionysos by the Titans is suggested by Mr Apollinax's head, "rolling under a chair". The god's resurrection is represented by the allusion to Mr Apollinax, "grinning over a screen/With seaweed in his hair", a detail which recalls Dionysos' escape from the Titans' mirror, resurrection and return from Hades (see John Vickery, op. cit., p. 239.).

99. Printed Text, I, p. 448.

100. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. p. 28.

101. Second Rough, I.i. p. 5., in D9, p. 76. Printed Text, I, p. 448.

102. Reproduced in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's plays, p. 273.

103. Printed Text, I, p. 453. Ur-Clerk, I, i, p. 5.

104. Ur-Clerk, I.ii. p. 5

105. Printed Text, I, p. 453.

106. Printed Text, I. p. 455. Ur-Clerk, I.ii. pp. 10-11.

107. Ur-Clerk, I.i. p. 11.

108. Poems and Plays, p. 92.

109. See J. Harrison, Themis, p. viii.

110. See Supra, p. 17

111. Quoted in J. Harrison, Themis, p. 482.

112. Quoted in Ibid.

113. Ibid, p. 485.

114. See Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 253.

115. See Martin Browne, Ibid.

116. Ur-Clerk, III.ii. p. 8

117. "First Draft", III.ii. in D9, p. 404. Printed Text, II, p. 492.

118. Printed Text, III, p. 493.

119. Printed Text, III, pp. 498-9.

120. J. Harrison, Themis, p. 481.

121. ll. 1-8.

122. J. Harrison, Themis, p. 483.

123. Ibid.

124. l. 71.

125. Ur-Clerk, I.ii, p. 13. Printed Text, I, p. 461.

126. Printed Text, I, p. 446.

127. In D9, p. 169.

128. D11, Act III, p. 12.

129. J. Harrison, Themis, p. 481.

130. Ibid.

131. Ur-Clerk, I.ii. p. 2

132. Ur-Clerk, II.i. p. 11.

133. Printed Text, II, p. 479.

134. Euripides, The Bacchae, ll. 1106-1152.

135. Ibid. l. 1191.

136. ll. 25-6.

137. Ur-Clerk, I.i. pp. 1-4.

138. "First Draft", I.i. p. 2, in D9, p. 8.

139. Robert Graves, The White Goddess, p. 169.

140. Ur-Clerk, III.i. p. 6. Printed Text, III, p 496.

141. W. K. C. Guthrie (1950) op.cit., pp. 157-8.
142. Ibid., p. 158.

143. E. R. Dodds' introduction to Euripides' The Bacchae, at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1944, p. xii.

144. J. Harrison, Themis, p. 39.

145. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. p. 17. For the "First Draft", see D9, p. 423. See also Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 270.

146. Reproduced in Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 280.

147. See C. Kerenyi, op. cit., pp. 108-109.

148. Reproduced in Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 281.

149. Printed Text, II, p. 486. "Second Rough", II, p. 25, in D9, p. 318.

150. Printed Text, III, pp. 514-5. "Second Rough", III, p. 29, in D9, p. 470.

151. Grover Smith, op. cit., p. 241.

152. C. G. Jung and C. Kerenyi, op. cit., p. 39.

153. See The Odyssey of Homer, V:383ff. References to this work are from the edition translated by H. B. Cotterill, George G. Harrap, London, 1911.

154. A. W. Verrall in his introduction to The Bacchants of Euripides, The University Press, Cambridge, 1910, p. 5.

155. The Birth of Tragedy, pp. 82-3.

156. A. B. Cook, Zeus, II, The University Press, Cambridge, 1925, 239, 279n.

157. J. Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 405.

158. Reproduced in Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 271.

159. "Second Rough", III. in D9, p. 478. See also the Printed Text, III, p. 517.

160. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. pp. 25-26. See also Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 270.

161. See Supra, p. 144.

162. Prolegomena, p. 278.

163. See the article "Flute" in Everyman's Encyclopaedia, V, J. M. Dent & Sons, London, 1952.

164. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Spirits of the Corn, I. p. 42.

165. Poems and Plays, p. 93.

166. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Scapegoat, p. 235.
167. Ibid.

168. Ur-Clerk, I.iii. p. 3. Printed Text, I. p. 451.

170. Ibid, p. 456.

171. I.i. p. 5 in D9. p. 76.

172. Printed Text, I, p. 446.

173. "Second Draft", III, in D9, p. 554.

174. Printed Text, III, p. 517.

175. J. Harrison, Themis, p. 487.

176. See Supra, p. 155.

177. Reproduced in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 227.

178. Printed Text, II, pp. 472-3. For the corresponding exchanges in the "Second Rough", see act II, pp. 6-7, in D9, pp. 299-300.

179. T. S. Eliot's published dissertation is entitled Knowledge and Experience in the Philosophy of F. H. Bradley, Faber & Faber Ltd., London, 1964.

180. F.H. Bradley, Appearance and Reality, Susan Sonnenscheine Co. Ltd., London, 1893, pp. 485-88.

181. T. S. Eliot, Knowledge and Experience in the Philosophy of F. H. Bradley, p. 145.

182. I.ii. p. 307.

183. See "Notes on the Wasteland", in Poems and Plays, p. 80.

184. T. S. Eliot's, Notes towards the Definition of Culture, p. 31.

185. J. Harrison, Themis, p. 487.

186. T. S. Eliot The Idea of a Christian Society, p. 31.

187. Printed Text, II, pp. 473-4. Second Rough, II, p. 7, in D9, p. 300.

188. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. p. 18.
189. Printed Text, III, p. 515,

190. Second Rough, III, p. 28, in D9, p. 496.

191. Printed Text, I, p. 446. "Final Text", I, p. 2 in D9, p. 224.

192. Printed Text, I, p. 446. "Final Text", I, p. 2, in D9, p. 224.

193. See Supra, p. 66 .

194. Themis, p. 110.

195, The Golden Bough: The Scapegoat, p. 237.

196. Themis, p. 116.

Chapter 5

The Confidential Clerk:
The Adaptation of the Dionysos-Christ Legend II

In my discussion of the adaptation of the Dionysos legend in the previous chapter, I have said that parts of the legend, especially the motif of death, resurrection and descent to Hades is reworked in a way which suggests the story of Christ. In doing so, Eliot, I have added, was under the sway of J.G. Frazer and John M. Robertson, who treated Christ as a type of Dionysos. Here before discussing the Dionysiac version of the Christ legend, I should like to show how Robertson found in the Ion of Euripides, which provided Eliot with his "point of departure" in writing The Confidential Clerk, Dionysiac pre-Christian myths which influenced the Christian system, an area of inquiry with which Eliot must have been acquainted.

Robertson urges that the "linkon", i.e. the twig-basket of Dionysos upon which the basket cradle of Ion is modelled has suggested the manger of Christ:

> In actual fact we find the God-Child represented on a sarcophagus in the catacombs, as cradled in a basket, standing under a shed ... with an ox and an ass looking on at his feet ... The Christian story, thus, is clearly imitative of, for one thing, the Greek usage of carrying in a basket the infant Dionysos whose typical animals are the bull and the ass.[1]

Also Robertson notes that the carrying of the swaddled and cradled divine child Dionysos to his nurses or Ion to the Apolline temple by Hermes,[2] closely resembles the Christian story of the carrying of the divine infant Jesus by St. Christopher.[3]

This attitude of Robertson towards the Greek myths as the origins of the Christian system is also adopted by Simone Weil,

one of Eliot's favoured writers,[4] who, reviving an old heresy of the Gnostics, maintains the absolute discontinuity of the Old Testament and the New. She does not believe in the existence of a mosiac of quotations from the Prophets and Psalms which determine the life of the future Jesus. Accordingly, she is convinced that the Gospels were the work of the Greek genius, the culmination not of the Hebrew Scriptures, but of a tradition beginning with Homer and running on through the great tragedians of ancient Greece, and the philosophy of Plato.[5]

Viewed in this perspective, the adaptation of some motifs in the Dionysos legend by Eliot in a way which shows that they have inspired their counterparts in the Christian system is a process which is in conformity with Robertson's method of interpreting the Christian sagas in terms of the Greek legends.

* * *

Our contention is that the dramatized version of the Dionysos myth as discussed in the previous chapter closely resembles the Christian story of Jesus' death, descent to hell and resurrection. But first let us spell out the relationships: Colby is Jesus, the divine offspring of Eggerson/Yahweh by Mrs. E., the Virgin Mary. Sir Claude is Satan and his house the underworld, and Lucasta, Mary Magdalene. This way of spelling out the myth seems to leave Mrs. Guzzard out of the picture. However Mrs. Guzzard's claim that Colby is her son by a dead father, while Mrs. E. secures him as her son in the end, seems to be a reflection on the dual aspect of Jesus' mother: the mortal Mary and the mythical Goddess Mary; corresponding to Dionysos' maternal origins. "If Judaism was to develop its

Saviour-myth at all", writes Robertson, "it could scarcely avoid the datum that he be born of a Virgin-Mother - that is, of a mortal mother supernaturally impregnated".[6] On the other hand, the same critic suggests that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was a mythical Goddess, originally the mother of the slain and resuscitated God, worshipped in different parts of the Eastern world long before our era.[7] The Virgin Mary, under the name of Myrrha, was the mother of Adonis, and under the name of Mirzam she was the mother of the mythical Saviour Joshua.[8] In Freud's view, the Virgin Mary, based on Semele or Demeter, is what Christianity re-established.[9] In this respect, the dual nature of the Virgin Mary closely resembles that of Dionysos' mother. In one version, the God's mother is the mythical Demeter or Persephone. In another, Dionysos came to figure as the son of the mortal Semele.[10] Hence the close analogy between Dionysos and Jesus; the latter is regarded by Lactantius as "twice-born" like Dionysos.[11]

This dual nature of Jesus' mother explains the ambiguity surrounding Colby's maternal origin. Prima facie Mrs. Guzzard urges that she is the real mother of Colby. However there is no substantial evidence that he is her son.[12] Hence her close affinity with the Mary of the Gospel of St. Mark who is "represented as not the mother of Jesus".[13] On the other hand, Mrs. E.'s reunion with Colby in the same way as the Goddess' reunion with her consort, the vegetation deity implies that she is Mother Earth to whom Eggerson prays in silence.[14] In other words, Mrs. E. is another version of Demeter, the "veiled Lady of Silences" whom the neophyte in the Eleusinian mysteries invoked in meditation.[15] In short the "two mothers" is a

recurrent motif in the myth of the suckling of the Child-God which appears in the saga of Colby-Jesus.

Like Jesus' mother, the Mrs. Guzzard of the original version distrusts the mission of her son. In response to Colby's quo animo to undertake a vocation in the Parish Church of Joshua Park, Mrs. Guzzard tries in vain to dissuade him, hoping that he would be "assured of a proper start in life" in the commercial activities of Sir Claude.[16] In a somewhat similar manner, Jesus' mother, according to the Gospel of St. Mark, is diffident about her son's mission. At the beginning of his ministry, Jesus was declared by his household to be out of his senses, and consequently his mother and brethren pursued him in order to put him under restraint.[17]

One further detail as regards Mrs. Guzzard's similarity with the mother of Jesus is her indigence. Mrs. Guzzard was married to a poverty-stricken man who was unable to satisfy her financial demands. She, therefore, resorted to shady expedients, such as her sexual intercourse with and deception of Sir Claude, in order to obtain money.[18] In like manner, Mary seemed to be an indigent woman, married to a poor carpenter. She "must have been poor, to a degree", urges J. Middleton Murry,[19] whose Life of Jesus (1926) Eliot reviewed.[20] Being brought up in a poor household, Jesus, in his lifetime was, therefore, compassionate to the penurious and unsympathetic to the opulent.[21]

* * *

We turn now to the discussion of the similarities between Colby and Jesus. Like Jesus, the Colby of the original version

is portrayed as a good-looking person,[22] a trait which is also characteristic of the legendary semi-gods in general,[23] and of Dionysos in particular.[24] The beauty of Jesus is demonstrated by the legendary and medieval description of him "as fairest of body, and with golden yellow hair".[25] Connected with the good-looking nature of the semi-God is his celibacy. Just as the Colby-Dionysos of the Hellenic myth objects to human marriage,[26] so the Colby-Jesus of the Christian saga prefers the state of celibacy to marital relations. Celibacy as a condition for ready salvation is a Christian doctrine which is encouraged not only in the Gospels,[27] but by the early Fathers of Christianity. One of these Fathers, to borrow Eliot's term, is the "enervate Origen", whom he (Eliot) describes as the product of the "word".[28] Eliot ridicules him, urges Grover Smith, because he "frustrated God's sexual affirmation not only by mutilating himself but allegedly by distinguishing between the eternal Word as consubstantial with God and the human Jesus as subordinately created by God - and in effect thus nullifying the mystery of Incarnation".[29] According to Origen who took the words of the Gospels (with respect to the emphasis on celibacy) literally, marriage was "only a secondary good for those who were unable to preserve continence".[30]

Colby in the mews-flat, originally a stable for horses and mules, may suggest to our mind the Virgin birth of Jesus in the stable during the winter solstice. Here we should draw upon the solar myth of the Virgin Birth of Jesus for its close connection with the residence of Colby in the mews-flat in mid-winter. The Virgin Birth of Christ in the winter solstice is said to be suggestive of the birth of the sun from the womb of Mother

Earth. Cosmas of Jerusalem (c. A.D. 740) tells us how the winter solstice was annually celebrated by the pagans in order to mark the occasion of the birth of the sun from the womb of the Earth-Goddess.[31] In Robertson's view, Christ's birth, like Dionysos', was placed on the 25th of December, originally a pagan festival celebrated in honour of the birth of the sun because of the winter solstice and the rising of the constellation of the Virgin above the horizon.[32]

Figuratively speaking, Colby's moving from Sir Claude's house to the flat in the mews nearly in the winter solstice suggests the solar myth of the Virgin Birth of Christ mentioned above. In other words, it marks with the beginning of Colby's occupation of it, the birthday of the unconquered Sol, the sun of Righteousness, just as the stable in which Jesus was born in "The very dead of winter", says Eliot in "Journey of the Magi" (1927), when the three wise men undertook "a long journey: / The ways deep and the weather sharp".[33] The timing of Colby's occupation of the mews-flat is about the winter solstice. As the text in its finished form does not give specific dates, except Eggerson's reference at the very beginning of act I, to the buying of "some new tools [for his garden] / So as not to lose a moment at the end of the winter",[34] we resort to the Ur-Clerk, the original version of the play. The opening scene of this version takes place in November;[35] it was subsequently changed. The timing of scene ii of act I is "a few days later",[36] and scene iii of the same act occurs "a month later".[37] So when act II takes place in the flat in the mews into which Colby has just moved, we are around the winter solstice, the timing of the birth of Colby-Jesus, the sun from the womb of Mother

Earth. This perhaps explains why the Colby of the original version assures Sir Claude of his feeling that he "had come into the world without any parents",[38] an assurance which is subsequently omitted, apparently to disguise the allusion to the solar myth of the Virgin Birth of Jesus.

* * *

We turn now to the discussion of the adapted version of the myth of the descent to Hades which is the most conspicuous motif of the Dionysos-Christ legend. Like Dionysos, Christ went down to Hades. But whereas the former descended to fetch his mother, the green Anodos, in the spring, Christ journeyed into Hades according to the Petrine doctrine, in order to preach "unto the spirits in prison which aforetime were disobedient, when the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah".[39] Also the Christian dogma "descendit at inferno" which, according to Robertson and others, was a part of the myth of the death and resurrection of the vegetation-god in general and of Dionysos in particular,[40] is mentioned by St. Paul: "Now this, he ascended, what is it but that he also descended into the lower part of the earth".[41] In view of Jesus' descent to Hades in order to preach to the spirits of the departed, we may explain Colby's descent to the Hell of the Mulhammers where he preaches to their spirits. He exhorts Sir Claude to control his sadistic impulses, i.e. the pleasure of torturing other people,[42] admonishing him and his wife to seek truth and abandon falsehood.[43]

Also we may interpret Colby's attempt to cure the souls of the Mulhammers in terms of Christ's descent into Hades in order

to heal the soul of mankind. Caecilius Lactantius of Bithynia (A.D. 250) taught that Christ went to the lower region and rescued man's soul which sank as a consequence of Adam's sin.[44] In a similar manner, Colby's descent to the Mulhammers' hell led to the salvation of Sir Claude by helping him to rid himself of self-deception and make-believe. The commercial world of Sir Claude, like that of Gerontion, is "a decayed" one.[45] Sir Claude recognizes how sordid it is; a recognition which wrongly induces him to find transitory moments of relief among his collection of pottery.[46] In other words, he is leading a life of make-believe. His infernal world is no less unreal than the sterile nether world of The Waste Land, or the Inferno of Dante. His world may echo the waste land of the Fisher King, in the Grail legend, whose sickness, caused by dotage, has brought drought and sickness on his subjects.[47] (Note that Sir Claude is initially meant to be old as the sketch plan of characters assigns to him the age of sixty-five.[48]) Hence the remark, put in the mouth of the Sir Claude of the original version, on the "desolation" he and his wife are sharing,[49] subsequently dropped. Lady Elizabeth, too, has something in common with the "infernal" world of Sweeney Agonistes, the atmosphere of which is that of boredom and ennui, a world in which one does not know whether one is alive or dead.[50] Lady Elizabeth's ennui is made clear by her travels on the Continent.[51] There is an unbridgeable gulf which separates her from her husband. They have not, if we may borrow a term from Eliot, that "closeness of emotional pattern" or the "togetherness" which characterizes Tourneur's or Marston's dramatis personae.[52] In response to Sir Claude's telling his wife for the first time of his early ambition to be a potter

rather than a businessman, Lady Elizabeth hits on the crux of the problem, i.e. the misunderstanding between her and her husband:

> You've never talked like this to me before!
> Why haven't you? I don't suppose I understand
> And I know you don't think I understand anything,
> And perhaps I don't. But I wish you would talk
> Sometimes to me as if I did understand.[53]

In such a hell, too, the lack of sympathetic feeling dominates the relationship between parents and children. Sir Claude not only disparages his illegitimate daughter Lucasta but thinks of her as "something of a thorn in his flesh".[54]

How far Colby's descent to hell contributed, like that of Christ, to the cure of the souls of the Mulhammers and their children may be explained by their change for the better in the course of the play's action. Sir Claude has given up his pretentious predilection for ceramics, the cause of his fragmentary life, a predilection which he cherished because he wanted to set an example for Colby. He wanted Colby whom he supposes to be his son to live in two worlds: the public world of commercial life and the private world of art. His decision to abandon ceramics is anticipated by his reluctance to attend the Potters' Company meeting as he previously intended; a change which occurs when his belief that Colby is his son becomes a remote possibility:

> Tomorrow night. Must I go to that dinner
> Tomorrow night?[55]

And to Colby's question whether Sir Claude would explain to him what the latter means by "Tonight I feel in a reminiscent mood"

in his speech intended to be addressed to the members of the Potters' Company, he (Sir Claude) exhorts him to cross it out, as he no longer feels enthusiastic about his early ambition to be a potter.[56] Consequently Sir Claude has to give up his private life of ceramics.

Colby too helped the Mulhammers to realize the importance of understanding each other and to try to understand their children. This was one of the tasks Eliot undertook throughout the process of revision. While the Ur-Clerk scarcely refers to this detail, one of the alternative dénouements attached to the "Final Text" incorporates the sense of rapprochement which takes place immediately after Colby's ascension or emergence from Hell. Lady Elizabeth urges her husband: "Claude, we've got to try to understand our children".[57] And B. Kaghan admonishes Lady Elizabeth:

> And we should like to understand you ...
> I mean, I'm including both of you
> Claude ... And Aunt Elizabeth.
> You know, Claude, both Lucasta and I
> Would like to mean something to you ...
> if you'd let us.[58]

The most notable aspect of the healing of the "souls in prison" is that of Sir Claude's antagonistic feeling towards his daughter, as is evident from his final note upon which the curtain falls: "Don't leave me, Lucasta";[59] an appeal which shows how affectionate Sir Claude has come to feel towards his daughter.

In brief, the tie of love which has come to bind the Mulhammers with their children is the corollary of Colby's deed

of redemption, so to speak. He, in conjunction with Eggerson, is a sort of catalyst who helps people to work out their salvation by influencing them to love and understand one another. As Lucasta admits: "I am grateful to Colby. But for Colby / I'd never have come to appreciate B. [Kaghan]."[59] Hence Colby's resemblance to Christ who redeemed the "souls in prison". in this respect, Colby recalls the Jesus of the Gospel who imparted to the dead the saving grace which he had won for them on the cross.

Connected with the doctrine of Christ's preaching to the 'souls in prison' is the concept that He is the "guide of souls" (psychopomp).[60] This concept too can be traced in the play in its original version. Colby as the "guide of souls" may be explained not only by his role in bettering the conditions of the Mulhammers and their children, but also by acting as the "bridegroom of souls". Colby is the beloved of Psyche, and the object of love and admiration. All the characters with no exception, are well disposed to him. Each wants him for one reason or the other. The Mulhammers entreat him to stay with them.[61] B. Kaghan forms an intimate bond with him,[62] trying to persuade him not to leave but to establish partnership with him.[63] Lucasta Angel (note her surname which sheds light on her psychic nature) not only follows Colby everywhere, but overtly reveals an affectionate attitude towards him.

We may also interpret Colby's descent to Hades and victory over Sir Claude in terms of Christ's journey into hell in order to deliver the world from the monster, Leviathan. This monster is death and hell who must be bound and shut in the infernal regions.[64] He is the devil, the serpent of paradise which Eliot

describes in "Choruses from 'The Rock'" as "The great snake [which] lies ever half awake, at the bottom of the pit of the world ... moving his head to right and to left prepared for his hour to devour."[65] Hell, according to 2 Enoch X lii, 1, is guarded by monstrous creatures in whose hands are the keys of its gates. Thus the world which requires redemption is to be conceived as imprisoned in the monster's belly, whence the Messiah, following Jonah, descends to deliver it.[66]

That Sir Claude stands for the monster of Hell from whom Colby-Christ tries to deliver the world may be explained not only by the life of fraud and make-believe but by the misuse of the money which Sir Claude employs in order to satisfy his sensual lust. Sir Claude was able to enjoy illicit unions with many a woman whom he tempted by his money.[67] By his financial power, Sir Claude has inverted the legitimate marital relationship. For him Lady Elizabeth is not so much a wife as a hostess: "You needed me", complains Lady Elizabeth to him, "chiefly as a hostess".[68] Marriage, for him, is not based on love, but on utilitarian principles. It is a bargain by which he wanted to improve his status in life. He confides to Eggerson: "I wanted a lady, / And I'm perfectly satisfied with the bargain".[69] The figurative attempt to deliver the world from the monstrous deeds of Sir Claude is apparent from the joint action of Colby and Eggerson, Son and Father, who succeeded in bringing Sir Claude to self-knowledge, to the attempt to understand his family and to love them.

* * *

The motif of the Resurrection, like that of the Descent into Hades, is also dramatized in the original version. Colby's resurrection, like that of Jesus, is made clear by the allusion to the mystery of "ogdoad", i.e. of the number eight. Having realized that Colby's surname is "Simpkins", the Lady Elizabeth of the original version exclaims:

> I attach importance to the number of letters
> In proper names. Eight letters.[70]

The allusion to the number eight suggests the resurrection of Colby-Jesus, and Lady Elizabeth's exclamation may signify her rejoicing in his resurrection. It was on the eighth day that Christ rose from the dead, the day of Helios. Cyril of Alexandria urged that this eighth day indicated the resurrection. It is the day on which Christ regained life.[71] Theodotus connects the resurrection of Christ with the number eight: "Whosoever is born again of Christ, he is transported into life and into the ogdoad."[72]

The other allusion to the resurrection of the Colby of the original version is suggested by the luncheon-party which all the characters, except Colby and Mrs. Guzzard, attend at the very end of the version. Prima facie the party is held for the occasion of B. Kaghan's marriage to Lucasta. However, the meal is meant to be an imitation of the Lord's Supper, which commemorates the death and resurrection of Christ. This may be borne out by the occurrence of the party immediately after the allusion to the two life-times which the Colby of the original version had. No sooner does Colby proclaim that he "had two incarnations. And now a third", than B. Kaghan remarks: "I want

everybody to come and have lunch with me / Just to celebrate the occasion."[73] The participants in the meal recall the partakers of the bread of the body of Christ and the wine of His blood.

This brings us to the reflection in the original version on the Eucharist, and its parallel in the Corinthian ritual of the Lord's table given in honour of Demeter and Dionysos. The allusion, again, is put in the mouth of B. Kaghan who invites Colby for dinner at the "Junior Corinthian": "You're dining with me tomorrow / At the Junior Corinthian: Seven for drinks."[74] B. Kaghan's invitation of Colby for dinner (bread and wine) in a restaurant named "Junior Corinthian" is not without its implication. It is commonly agreed that the Christian ritual of the Eucharist has its precedent in the Corinthian Agapae (love-feasts). The Rev. J.A. Robinson observes the analogy between the Eucharist in the Christian system as mentioned in I Corinthians XI:17ff. and the Agapae of the pre-Christian Corinth where the Dionysiac religion prevailed: "in Corinth, guilds and clubs had their stated suppers, and the wealthier townsmen found many occasions of inviting their poorer neighbours to a feast. Meanwhile the Christians in Corinth seemed to have adopted similar suppers on somewhat similar occasions."[75] Robertson urges that the "Eucharisteia" which the humble Corinthian banquets appeared to have combined incorporated the sacrament of bread and wine, "Ceres" and "Bacchus", which was perhaps commonest among the Gentiles.[76] Jessie L. Weston, whose From Ritual to Romance (1920) influenced the shaping of Eliot's The Waste Land,[77] sums up the close analogy between the "Eucharist" in the Mystery-Religions and its counterpart in the Christian system: Between the Mystery cults and Christianity "there

existed at one time a close and intimate union" with respect to the 'Eucharistic' Feast, in which the worshippers partook of the Food of Life from the sacred vessels".[78]

This leads us to the discussion of the interest which the Colby of the original version shows in feasting, an interest which makes him appear as the prototype of Jesus. Colby, we have seen above, dines and drinks with B. Kaghan in the "Junior Corinthian", a reflection not only on the ritual of the Eucharist, but also on Christ's interest in feasting, as is evidenced by the gospel story of the marriage in Cana. The Colby of the original version, too, invites Lucasta for dinner, and offers her a drink in his flat.[79] Further, the Colby of the "Second Rough" assures Lucasta that he will attend her ceremonial marriage, an assurance which is subsequently left out because of its overt allusion to the Biblical narrative of the marriage in Cana which Christ, together with his disciples, attended and performed the wine-miracle.[80] All these references to the interest of the Colby of the original version in feasting suggest the close resemblance between him and Christ who, like Dionysos, urges C.G. Jung, loved merry-making banquets and contrived the wine-miracle.[81] Dionysos, writes J.M. Robertson, "primarily a God of feasting ('the Son of Man cometh eating and drinking') comes to be conceived as the Soul of the World ... and Christ not only works the Dionysiak miracle, but calls himself 'the true vine'."[82] Hence the allusion in "Journey of the Magi" (1927) to the "tavern with vine-leaves over the lintel" which suggests "the abode of the old Dionysos, the spirit of the vine", through which the Magi pass into the birthplace of the new god, Christ".[83]

Connected with the resurrection of Christ is Easter, a ritual which found its way to the play in its original version. The allusion to Easter in the Ur-Clerk is borne out by Eggerson's inviting Colby to dinner in the spring, "When the garden will really be a treat to look at",[84] i.e. when it blooms. In point of fact, the action of the play in its original version is brought to an end around the spring, when the resuscitation of the God of Vegetation coincides with the restoration of verdure to the dead nature. In other words, the figurative resurrection of Colby-Jesus by the end of the play (suggested as we have seen, by Colby's remark on the two incarnations which he had and he is now for the third) coincides with Easter when nature effloresces. Hence the view of Frazer that Easter was originally a pre-Christian spring festival which celebrated the rising of the slain God of Vegetation in the Spring equinox.[85] In Grant Allen's words "the chief festivals [in the Christian system] still cling to the solar feasts of the equinoxes and the solstices. Thus every year the church celebrates in mimicry the death and resurrection of the Attis, the Adonis, the Dionysos, the Osiris ... it (the church) chooses for the actual day of the resurrection, commonly called in English Easter ... a trebly astrological date. The festival must be as near as possible to the spring equinox."[86] Also the resurrection of Dionysos and Semele, as discussed in the previous chapter, was annually celebrated in the Spring.[87] In fine, the idea underlying Eggerson's invitation of Colby in the Spring which takes place after the figurative resurrection of the latter is a reflection on Christ as a vegetation god; a reflection which has been anticipated in The Waste Land where Christ, observes F.R. Leavis,

is presented as a fertility God on the same level as the other fertility deities: Dionysos, Osiris, Attis and Adonis.[88]

So we can explain Colby's association with the blooming of Eggerson's garden in terms of the sacrifice of the Fertility God in order to renew the vegetative life; a motif which is applied to Christ by several critics. Grant Allen does the practical service of bringing Frazer's theorem of the Vegetation-Cult into connection with the Christian dogma of crucifixion and salvation. Allen reaches the conclusion that all the salient items in the Jesus-saga are but parts of the once universal rite of the God-Man sacrificed to renew the life of vegetation.[89] Like Dionysos, says Allen, Christ is the god of corn and wine as is evident from the Fourth Gospel: "I am the true vine, Ye are the branches. I am the bread of life."[90] Arthur Drews and John Robertson hold the view that the term "nazar" which derives from Nazareth conveys the sense of twig (sprout), which is found in Isaiah (XI:1), where the Messiah is described as the "rod from the tree of Jesse" or "the twig from its root". The twig, here, which has its counterpart in Dionysos' twig-basket, symbolizes the Redeemer in His character of a Vegetation-God, as was the case in the worship of the Vegetation-deities.[91]

Like the village of Nazareth which throws light on Christ as a Vegetation-God, Joshua Park is a fictional place. As the Colby-Dionysos of the Hellenic myth comes out from Hades and brings his mother to Joshua Park in the spring, so Colby-Jesus emerges from Hades and ascends to Joshua Park, the Paradise of Jehovah-Eggerson where he sits at the right hand of his Father.[92] With respect to the vegetative nature of Joshua Park, enough has

been said in our discussion of the dramatization of the Sargon-Moses legend. As for Nazareth, it has been suggested that the term derives from the "nazar" or "netzar" which "appears to have meant the principle of life, typified in vegetation".[93] Hence Christ "the promised netzar or nazar, who makes all new, and restores the time when 'one loads the other beneath vine and fig-tree and wonderful increase will appear'."[94]

To a similar extent, Colby, like Jesus, is "the promised netzar or nazar" who brings vegetative life to Joshua Park after his resurrection. Colby's original name "Slingsby" which has connection with "farmstead",[95] along with his arrival at Joshua Park at a time when nature is blooming and earth is laden with crops and fruit carries a suggestion of a Vegetation-God, who like Jesus, brings life and opulence to plants. Hence Eggerson's exultation and rejoicing in having Colby with him in Joshua Park, at a time when his "garden will really be a treat to look at".[96]

* * *

In the "Second Rough" we are met with substantial modifications, mainly omissions and additions. As for the omissions, this version suppresses the overt clues to the similarities between the Dionysiac and Christian religion. The suppression of these seems to have been implemented in order to conceal the obvious reference to Dionysos as an archetype of Christ. For example this version has no mention of either the "luncheon" party, or the dining in the Corinthian, both of which suggest the sacramental meal or the Eucharist. Also there is no reference to Colby's remark on his having "two lifetimes"

which suggests the death and resurrection of the vegetation god. This suppression results in the loss of much of what could have shed adequate light in the printed text on the reinterpretation of Christianity in terms of the Dionysiac religion. Nevertheless, several additions have been inserted in the "Second Rough" with a view to enhancing the Dionysos-Christ legend. These additions are related to the "Agony" of the Lord which preceded the Crucifixion; His Ascent to Heaven and enthronement beside his father; the allusion to Baptism by water and fire, and finally the strengthening of the solar aspect of the Christ saga. This last detail, along with the above-mentioned one respecting the birth of Colby in the mews flat in the winter solstice, throws further light on the solar aspect of the Christian system, a view Eliot seemed to have shared with Ezra Pound who believes in the pre-Christian solar myths retained by Christianity:

> ... what we really believe is the pre-Christian element which Christianity has not stamped out. The only Christian festivals having any vitality are welded to sun festivals, the spring equinox, the corpus and St. John's eve, registering the turn of the Sun, the crying of 'Ligo' in Lithuania, the people rushing down into the sea in Rapallo on Easter morning, the gardens of Adonis carried to Chruch on the Thursday.[97]

To begin with the discussion of the detail in question, i.e. the solar myth of Christ, the "Second Rough" introduces an allusion to the "Book of Revelation", which contains numerous references to Christ, interpreted by critics in terms of solar myths. In order that Lady Elizabeth may be impressed by Colby whom she will meet for the first time after her return from

abroad, Sir Claude exhorts Eggerson to teach Colby how to cultivate a predilection for the book of Revelation, of which his (Sir Claude's) wife is enamoured:

> Sir Claude: And by the way,
> How much have you actually told him about her?
> You remember, I asked you to prepare him a little;
> .....
>
> Eggerson: .....
> I did mention her interest in Light from the East.
>
> Sir Claude: And the Book of Revelation? And the wisdom of Atlantis?
>
> Eggerson: Well, to tell the truth, Sir Claude, I only touched on these matters.
> They're much too deep for me.[98]

One may wonder why Eliot makes Lady Elizabeth take interest only in the "Book of Revelaton" of all the New Testament literature, and the answer seems to lie in the assumption that the "Book of Revelation" considers Jesus not only a solar myth but that its author seemed to have disbelieved in a Jesus who had lived, died and was coming again to establish the New Jerusalem on earth.[99] According to Robertson, the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb (Christ) in the "Book of Revelations" refers to the entrance of the sun into the constellation of the ram. This Paschal Lamb, continues Robertson,

> was anciently 'Jeschu' or 'Jesus', the springtide symbol of a Sun-God so named; for in the Book of Revelation, which is markedly Judaic, the 'Lamb' figures as the known symbol or mystic name of a Son of God slain from the founding of the world
> .../

> ... the date of the Passover fell at the entrance of the sun into the constellation Aries in the Zodiac and the rule that the Paschal Lamb must be roasted, not boiled, tells also of the sun myth.[100]

The other allusion to Colby-Jesus as a Sun-God which the "Second Rough" incorporates occurs in the opening scene of this version. In reply to Eggerson's remark whether he (Sir Claude) would let Lady Elizabeth know that Colby is his son, the latter, bewildered, answers: "That's where I am in the dark."[101] Prima facie, Sir Claude's remark literally means his uncertainty with respect to Lady Elizabeth's feeling. However it could be figuratively interpreted to mean that Sir Claude is darkness incarnate, just as Colby stands for light, for he, like Jesus, is the sun of Righteousness. Further, Sir Claude represents darkness versus light for which Colby stands, is made clear by the remark given to the Colby of the Ur-Clerk in which he says by the end of this version that

> I have had two incarnations,
> And now a third. And I am for the dark.
>
> Eggerson: No, no, not at all. For Joshua Park.
> You'll love it.[102]

Eggerson's assurance to Colby indicates that Joshua Park, which at this level stands for the paradise of God or the heavenly Kingdom of illumination and light is unlike Sir claude's Hades which is dominated by darkness. Meanwhile Colby's representation of light is deduced from the fact that his flat in the mews is to be painted with the colour of "a light mauve".[103]

Apparently the allusion to the darkness of Sir Claude's hell versus the light as represented by Colby is a reflection

on the triumph of the Sun-God Colby-Jesus (Light) over the Dragon of Darkness, Sir Claude. This view is strengthened by the fact that Colby's successful attempt to overcome Sir Claude's temptation and his final withdrawal from his (Sir Claude's) commercial life shows how futile Sir Claude's well-contrived plan to secure Colby has come to be. Here again the victory of Colby, the representation of light, over Sir Claude, the dragon of darkness may bring to our mind the emphasis which the "Book of Revelation" (in Chapter XII) lays on "the obviously very ancient mythical idea of the birth of a divine child, who is scarcely brought into the world before he is threatened by the Dragon of Darkness, but is withdrawn in time into heaven from his pursuer".[104]

One further allusion to Colby-Jesus as a Sun-God, introduced in the "Second Rough" is related to the reflection on the epiphaneia as well as the sun and the twelve zodiacs. The allusion occurs in act I where it takes the place of the reference, in the Ur-Clerk, to the eight letters of which Colby's surname consists. In other words, the "Second Rough" suppresses the allusion to the ogdoad mystery, i.e. the number "eight" which, as above-mentioned,[105] is a reflection on the resurrection of Christ. Instead, the number "eight" is replaced by the number "thirteen". Having been told that the new clerk's name is "Colby Simpkins", the Lady Elizabeth of the "Second Rough" exclaims: "Thirteen letters. That's very auspicious."[106] The number "Thirteen" suggests the epiphaneia, i.e. the Birth of Jesus Christ in the flesh and his incarnation which is measured in terms of the waxing sunlight. Epiphanius of Salamis quotes Ephraem the Syrian who says in one of his commentaries that

> The appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, that is, his birth in the flesh and his complete incarnation which we call Epiphaneia, occurred on that day which is thirteen days removed from the beginning of the waxing sunlight.[107]

Also the number "thirteen" could be a reflection on Jesus Christ, the Sun-God and the twelve apostles symbolized by the sun and the twelve zodiacs. A hymn, attributed to the Alexandrian group, shows how on the thirteenth day after the winter solstice (December 25th), Christ the Sun and the twelve apostles, who stand for the twelve zodiacs, rose from the Virgin's womb, conquering the darkness of the winter:

> The Sun conquers and the steps by which it
> approaches the zenith
> Show forth a mystery.
> Lo, it is twelve days since he began to mount
> upward
> And today is the thirteenth day:
> It is the perfect symbol of the Son, and his
> twelve apostles.
> The darkness of winter is conquered.[108]

That Colby-Jesus is meant to be a Sun-God is also evident from his association with Joshua Park which in the end he prefers to Sir Claude's Hades. The term "Joshua" here seems to allude to the cult of Joshua, who, according to Arthur Drews and John M. Robertson, is the pre-Christian Jesus, for these critics are convinced that the Jesus saga reflects the influence of the pre-Christian Joshua sect, itself secret with a cult and ritual whose members were ever on their guard to preserve its secrecy.[109] Other critics went further to suggest that Jesus or Joshua Ben Pandira mentioned in the Toldoth Jeschu is the Jesus of

Nazareth.[110] This Joshua, urges Drews, "must have been a kind of Tammuz or Adonis", the ancient deity of the Sun and Fruitfulness, whose name (Joshua, Syrian Jeshu) characterizes him as saviour and deliverer. As such he also appears in the Old Testament, where he, assisted by twelve Israelites - one from each tribe - leads the people of Israel into the Promised Land.[111] That Eliot seems to have in mind Joshua, the pre-Christian Jesus may be borne out by the fact that the Colby of the Ur-Clerk is described as an "odd fish",[112] subsequently left out. This description of the Colby of the original version as an "odd fish" seems at this level of the Jesus' saga to be a reflection on Joshua's descent from Nun, the Fish or Aquarius which, according to Drews, indicates his representation of the winter solstice (Numb. XIV.6).[113] Joshua, continues Drews, "belonged to the tribe of Ephraim to which, according to the Blessing of Jacob, the Fishes of the zodiac refer (Numb. XIII.9; Gen. XLVIII.16).[114] Fish, notes Jessie L. Weston, was regarded by the Hebrews as "a potent factor in ensuring fruitfulness".[115] Hence the implication underlying the term "odd fish" assigned to the Colby of the original version, who, like Joshua and the other vegetation gods ensures the fruitfulness of nature.

* * *

Apart from the enchancement of the solar saga of Colby-Jesus, the "Second Rough" introduces an overt allusion to the "Agony" of the Lord which preceded His crucifixion. The allusion is inserted in Colby's scene with the Mulhammers which rounds off Act II. In response to Sir Claude's question whether he

(Colby) feels agonized on account of the unbearable parental claims he and his wife impose on him, Colby bewails:

> I only wish it was more acute agony:
> I don't know whether I've been suffering or not
> .....
> If there's agony, it's part of a total agony
> Which I can't begin to feel yet.[116]

Colby's agony, here, may echo that of Christ which in its turn recalls that of Dionysos, who, according to Frazer, had undergone an acute agony, as is mentioned in the previous chapter, for he was torn at Thebes, the very place where the same fate befell king Pentheus.[117] Further Dionysos' secret name as "Megapenthes" engraved on clay tablets found in Crete signifies, according to C. Kerenyi, "he of great suffering" which the god endured for the salvation of the world.[118] Apparently it is this suffering of Dionysos which inspired the Christus Patiens, a dramatic piece attributed to Gregory Nazianzenus, which recounts "the circumstances leading up to the Passion of Christ, and consists of a cento of verses taken chiefly from the Bacchae, Rhesus, and Troades."[119]

Like Jesus, too, Colby gives us the impression that he is a scapegoat, i.e. a just man who suffers not on account of his own sins but because of the sins of people who are redeemed as a consequence of his death. Apart from the fact that Sir Claude and Mrs. Guzzard forfeited the true parentage of Colby, the commercial culture of the Mulhammers is morally corrupt. Nothing would redeem it, or to borrow Frazer's term, "expel its sins", except a sacrificial victim who carries away the sorrows of these people.[120] In so doing, Colby, like the scapegoat, has

to suffer for upon him are laid all the evils which had afflicted the people.

* * *

Lucasta's anticipation of Colby's sudden vanishing from the secular world of the Mulhammers which closely resembles Mary Magdalene's announcement of Christ's Ascension is a further detail inserted at this stage of the play's evolution. In the scene where the Mulhammers are awaiting Mrs. Guzzard to clear up the tangles of Colby's identity, Sir Claude confides to Lucasta that he feels that Colby is his son. In response, Lucasta shows how unique Colby's nature is, an attribute which leads to his startling disappearance from the Mulhammers' environment:

> He (Colby) doesn't need anyone. He's fascinating,
> But he's undependable. He has his own world,
> And he might vanish into it at any moment -
> At just the moment when you needed him most!
> And he doesn't depend upon other people, either.[121]

To anticipate the disappearance of Colby from the world of the Mulhammers, Lucasta recalls the Mary Magdalene of the Gospel who received the resurrection proclamation from the angels and the commission to transmit it to the Apostles.[122] Just as Christ ascended and was concealed in the clouds, mounting to the supreme state of power and glory of God on whose right side he sits,[123] like Dionysos before him,[124] so Colby will vanish in the end to the divine world of his Father, Eggerson.

Apart from the anticipation of Colby's vanishing, the Lucasta of the "Second Rough" shows a striking similarity to

Mary Magdalene. Like Mary Magdalene, the concupiscent, whom Christ cured by casting out seven devils from her,[125] Lucasta's concupiscent nature is made manifest in the scene where she, though engaged to B. Kaghan, falls in love with Colby.[126] Colby's cure of Lucasta is administered as a consequence of his attempt to repel her advances:

> I shall never
> Never forget that look on your face
> When I told you about Claude and my mother.
> I may be a bastard, but I have some self-respect.
> Well, there's always B. I think that now
> I'm just beginning to appreciate B.[127]

Seen in this respect, Lucasta came to see herself as she really is; and above all she seems to have repented her concupiscence, just as Mary Magdalene "who, in post-envangelical myth, becomes a penitent harlot".[128] She (Lucasta), therefore, came to appreciate B. Kaghan, the one who has "been hurt by life, just as I have", an appreciation for which she is grateful to Colby:

> I came to thank him (Colby) for the shock he'd
> given me.
> He made me see what I really wanted.
> B. [Kaghan] makes me feel safe. And that's what
> I want.[129]

Lucasta's predilection for Colby, along with Lady Elizabeth's interest in him, may be explained in terms of the crowd of women followers which forms part of the cult of the vegetation-God. In Act II which takes place in Colby's flat in the mews, Lucasta follows him. She is well-disposed and affectionate to Colby, as above-mentioned. Lady Elizabeth, too, is interested in him. She is keen on haunting him in his new

flat, in order to make sure that he is well settled, and "the colour scheme (of the flat) really suited you".[130] In being followed by women, Colby recalls the Jesus of the Gospel who is often mentioned as being pursued by women:

> And many women were there beholding from afar, which had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him: Among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.[131]

In being followed by women, Colby-Jesus recalls the Vegetation-God in general, and Dionysos in particular. The "crowd of women followers" urges Robertson, is obviously present in the myth of dionysos, which "Christism copies at several points".[132]

* * *

One final, but significant, detail which the "Second Rough" incorporates is related to the allusion to water and fire as elements of purification in the Dionysiac-Christian religion. The allusion is put in Lucasta's mouth. In her analysis of Colby's ambiguous nature, she addresses him:

> .... you're terribly cold. Or else you've some fire
> To warm you, that isn't the same kind of fire
> That warms other people.[133]

The allusion to both cold and fire in the description of Colby's nature may be explained in the light of Jane Harrison's discussion of the significance of baptism by water and fire in the religion of Dionysos and Christianity. So far as the baptism by water and fire in the religion of Dionysos is concerned,

we may refer to the hymn of the Bacchae by Euripides. In it, Euripides gives expression to the baptism of Dionysos in the waters of the holy Dirce and in the fire of his father Zeus, both of which constitute an integral part of the God as representative of the two elements:

> Achelous roaming daughter,
> Holy Dirce, Virgin water,
> Bathed he not of old in thee,
> The Babe of God, the Mystery?
> When from out the fire immortal
> To himself his God did take him,
> To his own flesh, and bespoke him.[134]

In this hymn, notes J. Harrison, one might think that the bathing in Dirce is for the quenching of the burning child, but that is not the original notion. The baptism of water and the baptism of fire are to the same end, the magical acquisition of ghostly strength. This Dionysiac ritual, adds J. Harrison, has its Christian counterpart: "In ancient Christian ritual before the candidate was immersed a blazing torch was thrust down into the font. The emphasis was rather on regeneration than purification."[135]

* * *

We turn now to the discussion of the final revisions as presented in the late drafts. A close examination of these drafts reveals the changes which are made for the enhancement of the Christ saga. These revisions may be summed up as follows: the strengthening of Colby-Jesus' negation of his Mother in favour of His heavenly Father; the intended devotion of Colby

to the Church which recalls Christ's marriage to the Church; and finally Colby's self-renunciation and his successful attempt to liberate himself from Sir Claude's temptation which is analogous to Christ's triumph over Satan.

With respect to Colby-Jesus' rejection of His earthly Mother in favour of His divine Father, this detail is first inserted in the "Second Draft", where Colby, in reply to Mrs. Guzzard's question if he has no preference between a father and a mother, retorts:

> Let my mother rest in peace. As for a father -
> I have the idea of a father.
> It's only just come to me. I should like a father
> Whom I have never known and couldn't know now,
> Because he would have died before I was born
> Or before I could remember; whom I could get to know
> Only by report, by documents - [136]

Here we should notice the Hebraic notion of the superiority of Fatherhood over Motherhood which conforms to the belief of the Hebrews in God, the Father and their suppression of Mother-Earth. Colby's rejection of his mother is best demonstrated by the emphasis he lays on the ideal of the sort of father he wants to have, rather than the ideal of the mother whom he dismisses in one injunction: "Let my mother rest in peace". In other words, Colby's mother and father are both thought to be dead. His dwelling on the image of the father whom he wants to adore presents a complete contrast to his lukewarm attitude towards his mother. Even when Colby realizes that Mrs. Guzzard is his mother, he does not feel that he can accept the son-mother relationship: "Mother? You will always be my Aunt Sarah",[137] says the Colby of the original version to Mrs. Guzzard -

(compare the incident in Cana in which Jesus refuses to call Mary his Mother)[138] - an assertion which is subsequently rephrased and given to Mrs. Guzzard who confides to Colby that she was his mother but she chose to be his aunt, so that he may have his wish, and have no mother.[139] Colby's wish to have no mother is contrasted with his yearning for a father. The father whom he opts for seems to be God, the Divine Father, whom he "could get to know / Only by report, by documents",[140] which are apparently a reflection on the chronicles of the Old Testament. Thus, Colby's rejection of his mother in favour of his Father, God, is a detail which closely resembles that in the Christian system where the Jesus of the Gospel prefers his Divine Father to his earthly Mother.[141] Indeed the deterioration of the mother figure in the Christian system is a complete reversal of her superiority and her intimate relationship with her son in the Mystery-Religions, e.g. Demeter and Dionysos, Isis and Osiris, Tammuz and Ishtar, Adonis and Aphrodite, and Cyble and Attis. Nothing would explain the superiority of the idea of fatherhood in Christianity except the emphasis which Judaism lays on God, the Father, as has already been shown in our discussion of the adaptation of the Sargon-Moses legend.

In conformity with the Colby of the "Second Draft" who is made to prefer God the Father to his earthly Mother, the "Final Text" introduces one further detail: Colby's intended devotion to the Church which figures in Patristic literature as the Mother and Bride of Christ. The Colby of the "Final Text" is expected to be the priest and precentor of the Joshua Park Church.[142] Hence Colby's affinity with Christ who, according to Clement of Alexandria, is the "great High Priest of the one God

and of His Father".[143] In other words, Colby's refusal to marry and his intended devotion of himself to the service of the Church suggests his objection to marital life in favour of his spouse, the Church; a patristic detail which is attached to Christ. The Church as Christ's spouse is noted by Tertullian (c. A.D. 150-160) who exhorts: "The Church is a virgin. Keep pure for Christ his betrothed Virgin; let no man make gain of her."[144] Also the metaphorical marriage of Christ and the Church is the core of St. Augustine's thought. In one of his sermons, he admonishes: "Ye know the Bridegroom: it is Christ. Ye know the Bride: it is the Church ... If ye pay due honour to them both, you will be their children."[145] This metaphorical view of Christ's marriage to the Church, explains W.R. Halliday, is a transformed version of the divine marriage at Athens of the wife of the Archôn Basileus to Dionysos.[146] This ritual marriage, continues Halliday, "formed part of one of the pagan mysteries, and the Christian use of metaphor inspired by the analogy of the closest of human intimacies to express the relation of the soul to God, or of the Church to Christ, will of course be familiar to you."[147]

* * *

In accord with the detail of Colby's consecration of himself to the Church, inserted in the "Final Text", the acting version introduces Colby's desire to liberate himself from the snares of evil represented by Sir Claude's commercial culture. In response to Mrs. Guzzard's insistence that Colby is not Sir Claude's son, the Colby of the Acting Version exclaims: "This gives me freedom."[148] Sir Claude attempts to persuade Colby not

to leave, trying to tempt him with a very bright future in financial circles: "If you will stay with me. It shall make no difference / To my plans for your future."[149] Nevertheless colby is determined to leave Sir Claude's Satanic world in preference for the Joshua Park Church. Colby's successful endeavours to release himself from Sir Claude's shackles and materialistic world in favour of God brings to our mind Christ's rejection of the devil's transient world in favour of the eternal Kingdom of God. In Matthew, we read:

> .... the devil taketh him (Jesus) unto an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the Kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; And he said unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Then the devil leaveth him; and behold, angels came and ministered unto him.[150]

The struggle of Colby-Jesus against the temptation of the devil seems to have its precedent in the struggle of Dionysos against the Titans, his demon foes. Robertson suggests that the devil's temptation of Jesus is "at bottom only a variant of the Hellenistic mythology".[151] The idea of Jesus, continues Robertson, going into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil recalls that of Dionysos who goes on a far journey through a waterless land, passing through a waste region. There he is opposed by the Titans over whom he triumphs. To the neighbouring folk he reveals that he is come to punish sin and make men happy.[152] The ministry of the angels which followed the

temptation of Jesus in the wilderness, urges the same critic, "probably evolved from the pictured maenads of Dionysos".[153]

Apart from the close analogy between Colby and Jesus with respect to the devilish temptation, their triumph over the snares of the temporal world suggests the idea of self-renunciation which is also thought to be Dionysiac in origin. In the murder of Dionysos at the hands of the Titans, the Orphics, urges Angus, saw "a symbol of man's composite nature, consisting of the evil, or Titanic elements and the divine or Dionysiac elements. From the former, man must, through self-renunciation, liberate himself and return to God, with whose life he may be united".[154]

* * *

In conformity with the dramatization in the Ur-Clerk of the motif of christ's Resurrection, Descent to Hades and Ascension, the "Third Draft" introduces the detail of Christ's crucifixion. In reply to Eggerson's consolatory remark that "it's been a grief to both of you (i.e. Sir Claude and his wife) / That you've never had children", Sir Claude says:

> No worse, Eggerson,
> Than for you and your wife, to have had a son
> Lost in action.[155]

Eggerson's son who is lost in action seems to be a reflection on Colby who chooses Eggerson as his spiritual father. We have seen earlier how the Colby of the Ur-Clerk hints about the "two lifetimes" which he had undergone, an overt allusion to his death and resurrection. In other words, Colby recalls Christ

and Dionysos: Christ is crucified, is resurrected and joins His Father. Dionysos, too, is mutilated by the Titans. Nevertheless he is revivified by the power of Zeus, his father, with whom he reunites. In this respect, the allusion to the loss in action of Eggerson's son recalls the violent death, the crucifixion of Dionysos-Christ. Like them, too, he descends to Hades and finally reunites with his father Eggerson.

* * *

In view of the discussion of the Christ saga, we can follow its transformation step by step throughout the drafts. The Ur-Clerk gives expression to the major part of the saga, i.e. Christ's Descent to Hades and Resurrection. Colby, like Jesus, descends to Hades in order to preach to the departed in hell. His exhortation of the Mulhammers to follow in the right path, which is in itself an attempt to cure them suggests Christ's peaching to the souls in Hades, an analogy which brings Colby closer to Christ. Also we have seen that Colby's descent to Hades in order to rescue the world from the grip of Sir claude could be interpreted in the light of Christ's journey to Hades in order to deliver the world from Satan. In addition, the Ur-Clerk demonstrates the resurrection of Colby-Jesus by the incorporation of the number eight which is symbolic of the Lord's resuscitation.

Apart from the dramatization of the motif of Jesus' resurrection and journey to Hades, the Ur-Clerk gives expression to some other features relating to the Christ saga. These are: the dual nature of Colby's mother which resembles that of Christ;

Mrs. Guzzard's distrust of the religious mission of Colby which is analogous to Mary's of the Lord's mission. Mrs. Guzzard's indigence closely resembles Mary's. Colby as a man of feasting recalls Jesus who loved to attend marriage ceremonies and feasts.

More conspicuous is the dramatization in the Ur-Clerk of the detail of Colby-Jesus as a God of Vegetation which is made manifest by the reflection on Easter as a pre-Christian ritual of Spring which celebrated the resurrection of the Fertility-Deity and the restoration of verdure to nature which had turned barren and sterile as a consequence of the death of this deity, the symbol of the reproductive power in life. Hence Colby's resurrection in the spring and his association with the blooming of Eggerson's garden, and its reflection on Christ as God of vegetation sacrificed for the renewal of nature.

Finally the solar myth of Christ which the subsequent drafts develop is demonstrated in the Ur-Clerk by Colby's occupation of the mews-flat in midwinter, which suggests the Birth of Jesus, the sun from Mother Earth in the winter solstice. This detail, along with the motif of Christ's Descent to Hell and Resurrection form the major part of the Christ saga which The Confidential Clerk adapts.

The "Second rough" devotes a large space to the development of the solar aspect of the Christ saga, the seeds of which have already been sown in the original version. The most important addition inserted in this version is the detail of the portrayal of Sir Claude as the dragon of darkness and Colby-Jesus as the Light. Hence the implication of the victory of the latter over the dragon of darkness, which recalls the Biblical detail, in

the "Book of Revelation", as to the threatening of the dragon of darkness which endangers the divine child who flees the menace and triumphs in the end. A notable modification made in the "Second Rough" is the substitution of the number "thirteen" for the number "eight" of the original version which, as we said, denotes the resurrection of Christ. The number "thirteen" is a reflection on Christ, the Sun, as well as the twelve Apostles represented by the twelve Zodiacs. In addition, the "Second Rough" develops the motif of Christ's Resurrection and Ascension to Heaven by the incorporation of Lucasta's remark on the sudden disappearance of Colby from the world of the Mulhammers, a remark which closely resembles the proclamation of Christ's Resurrection by Mary Magdalene. Some other minor motifs of the Christ saga have found their way into the "Second Rough". These are: the Lord's "Agony" which is illustrated by the "total agony" which the Colby of this version is expected to face. Like Christ, too, who cured Mary Magdalene of her concupiscent nature, Colby helps Lucasta to put an end to her lustful attitude towards young men like himself and to appreciate her fiancé, B. Kaghan.

In the late drafts, two motifs relating to the Christ saga are adapted: one of these is the crucifixion of Christ, inserted in the "Third Draft", which forms an integral part of the detail of Christ's descent to Hades and Resurrection which the original version introduces. The adaptation of the motif of Christ's crucifixion is apparent from the detail of the violent death of Eggerson's son. The other motif introduced in the "Second Draft" is Jesus' preference of God, the Father to His earthly Mother whom He rejects. Connected with the adaptation

of this motif is that of the Christian dogma of the Church as the Mother and Bride of Christ, a dogma which is illustrated by the intention of the Colby of the "Final Text" to consecrate himself to the Joshua Park Church.

* * *

To conclude: the transformatin of the Christ saga in The Confidential Clerk suggests its close relation to the Dionysos legend. In many places, the adaptation of certain motifs of the Dionysos legend adumbrates at once the corresponding details in the story of Christ and the Christian system. First the reflection on the birth of Dionysos in the Winter solstice, suggested by Colby's moving into the mews-flat in mid-winter, closely resembles the birth of Christ in the winter solstice. Second, the allusion to the death, descent to Hades and resurrection of Colby-Dionysos, which recalls at once those of his Biblical counterpart, Christ. Third, the reflection in the original version on the Eucharist as having its antecedent in the Corinthian ritual of the Lord's table given in honour of the Dionysos and the Demeter of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Fourth, Colby-Dionysos' association with the blooming of Eggerson's garden in the Spring, and its allusion to Christ as a God of Vegetation.

The revision of the Ur-Clerk in what Eliot called the "Second Rough" results in the expurgatin of the overt allusions which are indicative of the close similarity between the pre-Biblical religion of Dionysos and the Christian system. These are: the motif of the Dionysiac Eucharist, plus the detail of the death and resurrection of Colby-Dionysos. Despite the suppression of these allusions, the "Second Rough" incorporates details which are not so conspicuous as the expurgated ones.

Nevertheless, the new details are meant to enhance the relationship between the Dionysiac and Christian religion. These details are: the great interest of Lady Elizabeth and Lucasta in Colby which suggests the crowd of women followers which forms part of the cult of Dionysos, a motif which found its way to the Christian system. The other detail is the Dionysiac ritual of baptism by water and fire, some traces of which are found in Christianity. The most significant detail which the late drafts have introduced is the temptation of Colby-Dionysos by the devil, the titanic demon of this world, the industrialist, Sir Claude Mulhammer. This Dionysiac motif has its counterpart in the temptation of Colby-Christ by Satan, the prince of this world. In short, the adaptation in The Confidential Clerk of these motifs which the two religions have in common points to one conclusion: the indebtedness of the Christian system to the Dionysiac religion.

Notes

1. J. M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, pp. 192-3.
2. See Ion, ll 31-40.
3. J. M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 214.
4. See Supra, p. 35
5. See Leslie A. Fiedler, "Simone Weil: Prophet out of Israel", Commentary, January, 1951, p. 45.
6. John M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 292.
7. Ibid, p. 297.
8. Arthur Drews, op. cit., p. 116.
9. S. Freud, Moses and Monotheism, p. 142.
10. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 293.
11. See Ibid, p. 435.
12. See Supra, p. 86.
13. See John M. Robertson, The Historical Jesus, Watts & Co, London, 1916, p. xviii.
14. See Supra, p. 154.
15. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Spirits of the Corn, I, 38.
16. Ur-Clerk, III, iii, p. 27. Printed Text, III, p. 515.
17. See F. C. Conybeare, The Historical Christ, Watts & Co., London, 1914, p. 170.
18. Printed Text, III, p. 515. Ur-Clerk, III, iii. p. 17.
19. John Middleton Murry, The Life of Jesus, Jonathan Cape, London, 1926, p. 15.
20. In The Criterion, V, (January-June 1927), 254-7.
21. John Middleton Murry, op. cit., p. 15.
22. See Supra, p. 146.
23. J. J. Davis, op. cit., p. 51
24. See Supra, p. 147.
25. See John M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 129.
26. See Supra., p. 146.

27. Matthew, 19:12; Luke 20:35

28. See "Mr Eliot's Sunday Morning Service" (c. 1918), in Poems and Plays, p. 54.

29. Grover Smith, op. cit., pp. 43-4.

30. See George Gross's article "Celibacy" in Encyclopedia of Religi and Ethics, III, 273, col. 1.

31. See Hugo Rahner, op. cit., p. 140.

32. John M Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 33.

33. Poems and Plays, p. 103.

34. Printed Text, I, p. 445.

35. Ur-Clerk, I.i. p.1

36. Ur-clerk, I.ii. p.1.
37. Ur-Clerk, I.iii. p. 1.

38. Ur-Clerk, I.iii. p. 15.

39. I Peter 3: 19-20

40. John M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, pp. 234-6.

41. Ephesians 4:9.

42. Ur-Clerk, I.iii, p. 17.

43. Ur-Clerk, III.ii. p. 5. Printed Text, II, p. 491.

44. See Hugo Rahner, op. cit., p. 124.

45. Poems and Plays, p. 37.

46. Printed Text, I, p. 464. Ur-Clerk, I.iii. p. 12.

47. For the detail of the Grail legend, see Jessie L. Weston, op. cit., p. 12.

48. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 250.

49. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. p. 8.

50. Poems and plays, p. 125.

51. Lady Elizabeth's ennui is of the type described by Matthew Arnold in his Essays: "A man rushes abroad ... because he is sick of being at home; and suddenly comes home again because he finds himself no whit easier abroad." (Quoted in J. Hillis Miller, The Disappearance of God: Five Nineteenth Century writers, Harvard University press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963, pp. 256-7.)

52. T. S. Eliot, "Cyril Tourneau" (1930), Selected Essays, p. 185.

53. Printed Text, III, p. 494. Ur-Clerk, III.i. p. 5.

54. Printed Text, I, p. 455. Ur-Clerk, I.ii. p. 10.

55. Printed Text, II, p. 492.

56. Printed Text, II, p. 492.

57. "Final Text" in D9, p. 614. Printed Text, III, p. 519.

58. "Final Text", in D9, p. 614. Printed Text, III. p. 519.

59. "Final Text" in D9, p. 614. Printed Text, III, p. 519.

59. Printed Text, III. p. 499.

60. Arthur Drews, op. cit., p. 115.

61. Printed Text, II, pp. 490-91. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. pp. 24-25

62. Printed Text, I, p. 451. Ur-Clerk, I.iii. p. 2.

63. Printed Text, III, p. 519. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. p. 28.

64. Revelation, 20:1 ff.

65. Poems and Plays, p. 166.

66. See J. A. MacCulloch, The Harrowing of Hell, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1930, p. 49. See also W. H. Hulme, "The Middle English Harrowing of Hell", in Early English Text Series, (Extra Series, 1), Kegan Paul & Co Ltd, London, 1907, p. lxvi.

67. Printed Text, II, p. 476.

68. Printed Text, III, p. 495.

69. Ur-Clerk, I.ii. p. 11. Printed Text, I. p. 456.

70. Ur-Clerk, I.iii. p. 5.

71. Quoted in Hugo Rahner, op. cit., pp. 76-7.

72. Quoted in Ibid. pp. 75-6.

73. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. pp. 29-30.

74. Ur-Clerk, I.ii. p. 7.

75. See his article "Eucharist" in Encyclopedia Biblica, II, p. 1418-1426.

76. John M. Robertson, A Short History of Christianity, pp. 24-5.

77. See Eliot's acknowledgement of the influence in his notes to the poem. (Poems and Plays, p. 76).

78. Jessie L. Weston, op. cit., p. 5.

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80. S. John 2:1ff.

81. C. G. Jung, Psychology and Religion : West and East, translated by F. R. C. Hull, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1958, p. 253.

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83. John Vickery, op. cit., p. 270.

84. Ur-Clerk, I.ii. p. 13. Printed Text, I, p. 461.

85. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Dying God, MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1912, pp. 246 ff.

86. Grant Allen, The Evolution of the Idea of God, Grant Richards, London, 1897, p. 390.

87. See Supra, p. 150.

88. F. R. Leavis, "The Waste Land" in T. S. Eliot: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Hugh Kenner, Princeton Hall, Inc., Eaglewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1962, p. 94.

89. Grant Allen, op. cit., pp. 381-3.

90. See Ibid., p. 381.

91. See Arthur Drews, op. cit., p. 61. See also John M. Robertson, A Short History of Christianity, p. 9.

92. For the narrative of Jesus' ascension to Heaven where he sits at the right hand of God, see Acts 2:31 ff).

93. Robertson, A Short History of Christianity, p. 9.

94. Arthur Drews, op. cit., p. 61.

95. See Supra, p. 143.

96. See Supra, p. 145.

97. Ezra Pound "Statues of Gods" (1939), in Selected Prose 1909-1965, edited by William Cookson, Faber & Faber Ltd, London, 1973, p. 71.

98. "Second Rough", I.i. p. 5, in D9, p. 76. Printed Text, I, p. 448. (Italics mine.)

99. For this view concerning the attitude of the author of the "Book of Revelation" towards Christ, see F. C. Conybeare, op. cit., p. 153.

100. John M. Robertson, A Short History of Christianity, pp. 25-6.

101. "Second Rough", I.i. p. 8, in D9, p. 79. Printed Text, I. p. 449.

102. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. p. 29 (italics mine.)

103. Ur-Clerk, I.iii. p. 6. Printed Text, I. p. 459.

104. Arthur Drews, op. cit., p. 88.

105. See Supra, p. 199.

106. "Second Rough", I.ii. p. 5, in D9, p. 100. Printed Text, I, p. 459.

107. Quoted in Hugo Rahner, op. cit., p. 137.

108. Quoted in Hugo Rahner, Ibid, p. 145.

109. See F. C. Conybeare, op. cit., pp. 187, 190-91.

110. See Ibid. p. 151.

111. Arthur Drews, op. cit., pp. 83, 135-6.

112. See Supra, p. 145.

113. Arthur Drews, op. cit., p. 84.

114. Ibid.

115. Jessie L. Weston, op. cit., p. 127.

116. Printed Text, II, p. 490. Second Rough, II, p. 30, in D9, p. 323.

117. See Supra, p. 151.

118. C. Kerenyi, op. cit., p. 70.

119. From A. S. Way's commentary on the Christus Patiens in his appendix to the Bacchae in his translated work: Euripides' Plays, II, Dent, London, 1965, 317.

120. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Scapegoat, pp. 227-8.

121. "Second Rough", III, in D9, p. 450. Printed Text, III, p. 500.

122. Mark 16: 9-10.

123. Matthew 26:64.

124. For the mythological view that Dionysos, after establishing his worship throughout the world, ascended to Heaven where he sits at the right hand of Zeus, see Robert Graves, Greek Myths, p. 106.

125. Mark 16:9.

126. See Supra, p. 55.

127. "Second Rough", II, p. 14, in D9 p. 307. Printed Text, II, p. 478.

128. John M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 299.

129. "Second Rough", III, in D9, p. 450. Printed Text, III, p. 500.

130. "Second Rough", II, p. 20, in D9. p. 313. Printed Text, II, p. 483.

131. Matthew 27: 55-56.

132. John M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 302.

133. "Second Rough", III, in D9, p. 455. Printed Text, III, p. 502.

134. 11 520-523. In Gilbert Murray's translated edition: the Athenian Drama, III, 105.

135. J. Harrison, Themis, p. 34.

136. Second Rough, III, in D9, p. 592. Printed Text, III, p. 513.

137. Ur-Clerk, III.iii. p. 19.

138. John 2: 3-4.

139. Printed Text, III. p. 514.

140. Printed Text, III. p. 513.

141. Matthew 12: 47-50; Mark 3: 31-35.

142. "Final Text", III, p. 44, in D9, p. 606. Printed Text, III, p. 518.

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144. Quoted in Claude Chavasse, The Bride of Christ, Faber & Faber Ltd, London, 1940, p. 131.

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151. John M. Robertson, Christianity and Mythology, p. 318.

152. Ibid., p. 324.

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CHAPTER 6

The Family Reunion:
The Adaptation of the Babylonian Legends of the Fall and the Deluge in The Gilgamesh Epic

No critic, so far as I know, has ever detected the presence in The Family Reunion, of the Eabani-Ukhat and the Deluge legends in the Gilgamesh Epic, held by critics to be the origin of the Biblical narratives of the fall and the flood respectively. Before discussing the adaptation of these two legends, I will dwell very briefly upon the story of the discovery of the Gilgamesh Epic and its significant relation to the Old Testament narratives of the Fall and the Deluge, as treated by writers who left their indelible mark on Eliot's thought. In addition, I should like to shed light on the circumstances which motivated Eliot to draw upon the two legends in the Gilgamesh Epic.

George Smith of the British Museum was the first to discover the cuneiform tablets of the Gilgamesh Epic about the middle of the nineteenth century. They were found among the extensive remains of the library of the great King Ashurbanipal and among the ruins of the temple library of the god Nabû (the Biblical Nebo) both of which were located in Nineveh, the later capital of the Assyrian empire. The cuneiform tablets on which the epic was inscribed were broken as a consequence of the sack of Nineveh. Smith recomposed and translated them. His careful study of the tablets resulted in finding out close similarities between the epic and the Old Testament with respect to the legends of the Fall and the Deluge.[1] In view of the precedence in date of the Gilgamesh Epic (c. 2000 B.C.),[2] vis-à-vis the Fall and the Deluge narratives of Genesis,[3] critics with whom Eliot was familiar maintained with a great degree of certainty that the chroniclers of the latter drew upon the Babylonian literature.

* * *

Perhaps one of the most influential writers who opened Eliot's eye to the Gilgamesh Epic as the origin of the narratives of the Fall and the Deluge is Sir James George Frazer. Unfortunately Frazer did not give a detailed analysis of the epic and its Old Testament parallels. However he extolled the epic which, for him, is "one of the oldest literary monuments of the Semitic race and far more ancient than Genesis".[4] Since Frazer denies the element of divine revelation in the religion of Israel, he traces the beliefs and institutions of ancient Israel backward to earlier and cruder stages of thought and practice.[5] Hence he argues that the Biblical story of the deception of Adam and Eve by the serpent which induces them to eat of the tree of death, while he himself eats of the tree of life derives from the Gilgamesh epic. In the latter, Gilgamesh is advised by his ancestor the deified Utnapishtim, the Babylonian Noah of the Deluge, to procure a magic plant which had the miraculous power of renewing youth and bore the name "the old man becomes young". After a great deal of effort, Gilgamesh obtained the plant, but before eating it, a serpent stole it from him while he was bathing. In the story of the Fall in both the Gilgamesh Epic and the Genesis, the serpent, concludes Frazer, contrives to outwit or intimidate the man in order to secure for himself the immortality which was meant for mankind.[6]

Like Frazer and many anthropologists who followed in his footsteps, many theologians were of the same opinion that the religion of Israel came under the influence of the Babylonian religion. The theologian N.P. Williams whose work, notes Nevill Coghill, was known to Eliot,[7] urges that the Yahwist writer

"selected" the paraidse story "from a mass of Babylonian traditions".[8] It would be helpful if we discuss what Williams thinks of the Biblical narrative of the Fall, for his views in this concern must have had their impact on Eliot's thought. Apart from his observation of the incongruities in the Fall narrative,[9] Williams makes it clear that people nowadays no longer believe in the Fall narrative. The reason is that the world we inhabit has expanded as a consequence of scientific discoveries. Biology has shown us the unbroken continuity of man's descent from the brutes, and anthropology no longer accepts the idea of man's paradisal perfection. Hence "the uneasy feeling" that

> the first pillar, the doctrine of the fall, has been irretrievably undermined, and totters on its base, no longer capable of bearing its former share of the super-incumbent weight. There are indeed, those who urge that it is now a source of weakness rather than of strength to the fabric which it supported for so long, and should be razed to the ground.[10]

The fact that science has undermined religious convictions, such as the doctrine of the Fall is what Eliot was apparently persuaded to believe. The "living garment of God", wrote Eliot, "has become somewhat tattered from the results of scientific manipulation",[11] a view which reminds us of the "science-worshippers" Frazer, Freud, Bertrand Russell and several other thinkers.[12] Eliot seems to have disbelieved in Original Sin. In a sermon preached in Magdalene College Chapel, Cambridge, 1948, Eliot recalled that he "had undergone a temporary

conversion to Bergsonism".[13] Bergson, it should be noted, was not a Christian, and there is no room in his philosophy for God.[14] Eliot describes how keen he was to attend Bergson's lectures during his academic visit to Paris, a home then of agnostic intellectuals, in 1910-1911.[15] Bergson represented the romantic tendency in France in 1910, one whose "vitalism", remarks one critic, "encouraged 'escape from the world of fact' and disbelief in Original Sin".[16] We cannot take for granted Eliot's confession that his conversion to Bergsonism was temporary. It appears that his adoption of Bergsonism at least with respect to disbelief in Original Sin was permanent rather than temporary.

Apart from Frazer and N.P. Williams, Alfred Loisy is the most notable theologian to influence Eliot with respect to the extensive study of the Gilgamesh Epic and its Old Testament parallels in his Les mythes Babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Genèse (1901). Loisy (1857-1940) was a French modernist theologian whose commentary on the synoptic Gospels showed how very large a part of the story of Christ's life was legendary and unhistorical. For this reason he was excommunicated in 1908; and he ceased to wear the cassock and remained where he was until later in the year he became professor of the history of religions.[17] That Eliot was closely acquainted with Loisy's work is made clear by the fact that he wanted him, along with other French authors, to be read by his students as is evidenced by his "Oxford University Extension Lectures: 'Syllabus of a Course of Six Lectures on Modern French Literature' by T. Stearns Eliot, M.A. (Harvard), Oxford 1916."[18] To what extent Eliot is indebted to Loisy will be subsequently shown throughout the discussion of the dramatization of the two legends of the Fall and the Deluge.

It suffices here to note that Loisy believed that the chief personae of the Gilgamesh Epic especially the hero may be historical characters who once lived: "Il est possible qu'un personage nommé Gilgamés ait existé à une époque fort ancienne."[19] This view also holds true of the other characters in the Epic, especially Eabani and Ukhat, supposed to have inspired the Fall narrative of Adam and Eve. So is Utnapishtim, the Babylonian hero of the Deluge upon whom Noah is thought to be modelled. On the other hand Loisy makes the point that many of the Old Testament persons and several narratives are purely mythical, such as Moses, the patriarchs and their families, Adam and Eve, Noah, the creation and the flood.[20]

Our foregoing discussion of the critical attitude towards the Gilgamesh Epic by able authors who are convinced that it has inspired the two narratives of the Fall and the Deluge must have appealed to Eliot who certainly came under the sway of their views. No wonder then that he, as an editor of The Criterion, allowed room in it for a review by J.G. Fletcher of J. Redwood Anderson's Babel,[21] a dramatized version of the story of the Biblical Nimrod, identified by Assyriologists with Gilgamesh.[22] The drama contains several allusions to the Babylonian myths which have been considered the basic origins of Old Testament narratives. Examples are the dramatic detail of the Babylonian Flood concerning which Utnapishtim, the Babylonian Noah was warned and instructed by the god Ea to build a ship in term of prescribed measurements so that he and his wife can escape death by water.[23] This detail, according to Loisy,[24] suggests the Biblical flood and the Hebraic Noah.[25] In addition, there is the allusion to the cosmological myth of creation: the fight

between the deity Merodach and Tiamat, the sea monster and how things were created.[26] This myth is widely held to have given form to the Hebraic narrative of creation, especially the guerre à mort between Yahweh and Leviathan.[27]

* * *

The question now is this: how did the legends of Eabani-Ukhat and the Deluge suggest themselves to Eliot's mind when he wrote The Family Reunion? To answer this question one has to probe into the author's preoccupations at the time when he thought of writing the play, the first draft of which, according to Martin Browne, Eliot's theatrical adviser, was completed in November 1937.[28] In 1936 and apparently at a time when The Family Reunion was being planned Eliot contributed an essay on Milton "Milton I" to Essays and Studies of the English Association, Oxford University Press, 1936.[29] Milton's Paradise Lost has for its content the Biblical narrative of the Fall of Adam and Eve, which according to Loisy whose work was known to Eliot, as is previously shown, is based on the legend of Eabani-Ukhat in the Gilgamesh Epic. That Eliot, like Loisy and several other authors, dismissed the Fall narrative as mythical is evidenced by his criticism of the borrowing from the Book of Genesis by Milton:

> So far as I perceive anything, it [Milton's poetry] is a glimpse of a theology that I find in large part repellent, expressed through a mythology which would have better been left in the Book of Genesis, upon which Milton has not improved.[30]

Eliot certainly refers here to the narrative of the Fall in the Book of Genesis which provided Milton with the basic material for Paradise Lost. Our author's view in the above passage does not differ from that of Loisy, or that of Principal John Skinner in his commentary on Genesis,[31] or even from that of Voltaire - whom he calls "the greatest sceptic of all" (i.e. of Montaigne, Renan, and Anatole France),[32] - who argues that Adam and Eve are figments of the Hebrew imagination, and they "were always utterly unknown to the nations".[33] Indeed Eliot must have added that Milton's poetry "has not improved" upon the Book of Genesis except that it displayed his heresy of which our author was persuasively convinced. In 1928 Eliot made it clear that the Satan of Milton is indicative of his heresy,[34] a view which William Blake announced in Marriage of Heaven and Hell. In this work, Blake said that Milton wrote at liberty of Devil and Hell "because he was a true Poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it".[35]

If Milton perceived God in Satan, Eliot must have seen the Babylonian first man and woman to unite sexually: Eabani and Ukhat in the Adam and Eve of Paradise Lost. In the portrayal of Eve, one feels that Milton made of her seductive beauty the incarnation of the calamitous temptation which brings dolour and havoc upon Adam: "What day the genial Angel to our Sire / Brought her [Eve] in naked beauty more adorn'd / More lovely than Pandora."[36] The portrayal of the seductive nature of woman must have been highly appreciated by Eliot, who, at the time of writing The Family Reunion lived in a state of separation from his first wife Vivienne Haigh-Wood since his desertion of her in 1933.[37] His first marriage was undoubtedly disastrous, and

there is "profuse testimony" observes Grover Smith, "to Eliot's misery" in the poetry when occasionally Vivienne figures in it.[38] The chronic illness, physical and mental, from which she suffered often turned her against him with cruel accusation.[39] She is a person, remarks her paramour, Bertrand Russell, with whom the Eliots lived for some time in his flat in London,[40] who lives on "a knife edge",[41] a sort of life which very much tormented Eliot: "My nerves are bad to-night. Yes, bad. Stay with me."[42] In general, Eliot, notes one critic, appears to have regarded woman "not as a human being but as a man's ordeal, a figure of sin with whom the man had heroically to consort".[43] It is therefore not too much to say that Eliot found in the Adam-Eve narrative of Paradise Lost and its pre-Biblical counterpart of Eabani and Ukhat - in both of which the woman brings misery and death upon the man with whom she copulates - an "objective correlative" for his bitter feeling against women.

Eliot's grudge against women in general and his wife in particular also seems to have been stimulated by the theme of Clytemnestra's conjugal infidelity towards and murder of her husband Agamemnon in the Oresteia of Aeschylus, the Greek original on which Eliot modelled Harry's responsibility for the death of his mother, and the Eumenides' haunting of him.[44] Apart from this, the parallels between Eliot's play and Aeschylus' trilogy are scanty. However it seems very obvious that Clytemnestra's responsibility for the death of her husband recalls the responsibility of Ukhat-Eve for the death of her consort Eabani-Adam, a resemblance which along with the reading of Milton's Paradise Lost and the then state of resentment against his wife must have enticed him to adapt the Eabani-Ukhat

legend, and its relevant material, such as the terror which overtakes Gilgamesh as a result of the death of Eabani, and his futile attempt to seek immortality in this world.

* * *

To spell out the Babylonian Fall legend and its Biblical counterpart: Harry is Eabani-Adam whose consort [his wife], represented by Ukhat-Eve is responsible for his fall from grace, bringing upon him misery and mortality. Apart from this legend, there is the motif of Gilgamesh's fear of death - given rise to by the death of his friend Eabani - and his search for immortality which suggests that of Harry brought about by the death of his wife. Finally the drowning of Harry's wife and the original conception of Harry's father's attempted murder of his wife by drowning may be small reflections of the Deluge.

To begin with the adaptation of Eabani-Ukhat legend: In The Family Reunion, married people alone, viz. Harry and his father are faced with misery and alienation on account of their marriage, while the rest of the characters: two bachelor uncles of Harry and three spinster aunts, live contendedly in such a state of singleness. With the exception of Agatha, whose portrayal reflects some traces of Ishtar, the goddess of love, these celibates and spinsters appear to be enjoying some sort of continence. Violet, for example, refuses the idea of going on a holiday to the south in order not to see "the vulgarest people", who "bathe all day" and "dance all night".[45] Gerald, in response, launches a diatribe against the cause of the dissolute licentious life among the young: "It's the cocktail-drin

does the harm: / There's nothing on earth so bad for the young."[46] The point I am trying to establish is this: Eliot, in adapting the Fall narrative of Eabani-Adam and Ukhat-Eve, seems to have been influenced by the theological argument that the cause of the Fall is the concupiscence or the physical union of the first human couple.

The ancient Church of God, urges N.P. Williams, in whose work Eliot was interested,[47] regarded concupiscence as the primal cause of the Fall.[48] In the Apocalypse of Abraham, it seems to be implied, adds Williams, that "the first sin consisted in the physical union of Adam and Eve, who had apparently been meant by the Creator to live in perpetual continence".[49] According to the Anglican doctrine of Original Sin contained in Article IX "concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin".[50] This Article states that man is displeasing to God because he possesses "a corruption of nature which is identified with animal propensities or 'concupiscence', and this concupiscence is definitely asserted to be of the nature of sin".[51]

The view that copulation is the cause of man's fall and the origin of wretchedness is what Eliot appears to have adopted. I.A. Richards refers to Eliot's preoccupation with sex, a view accepted by critics, such as Kristian Smidt who comments: "It is sometimes hard to avoid the impression that sex is regarded [by Eliot] as in itself evil and sinful."[52] In Eliot's poetry, continues Smidt, sex is "often corrupted by sin".[53] Eliot, it should be noted, confirmed Richards' view adding that sex is the "problem of our generation".[54] It is the problem of the inhibited Prufrock, of Sweeney and the wanton, dissolute girls

[Sweeney Agonistes], of Burbank and Princess Volupine ["Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar"], of Pipit and her broken-hearted lover ["A Cooking Egg"]; of the 'hyacinth girl' and the betrayed lover, of the 'barbarous' King and the raped Philomel, of Sweeney and Mrs. Porter, and of the typist and the 'carbuncular' agent's clerk [The Waste Land].

The wretchedness brought about by the woman upon the man with whom she copulates in The Family Reunion can be explained by the horrifying fate - occasioned by the woman - which befell the man in the Eabani-Ukhat/Adam-Eve story. In either case, the man realizes that the woman is the real cause of his misery and expected death. In Eliot's play, the central character, Harry, has fallen from grace to misery since his marriage eight years ago. He has been suffering from "that sense of separation, / Of isolation unredeemable, irrevocable".[55] In other words Harry means that his wife has taken him away from Wishwood in the country and its animals to which he was closely attached. This "isolation" is "irrevocable" in the sense that Harry has been unable to adjust himself to the place in which he was born and brought up as a consequence of his marriage to a domineering woman who "dragged him / All over Europe and half round the world".[56] In this respect, Harry recalls Eabani, the man who lives happily in close contact with the animals. Yet misery overtakes him, remarks Loisy, when he yields to Ukhat.[57] Ukhat is one of Ishtar's hierodules sent by Gilgamesh - who needed the mighty Eabani with him - in order to seduce him and therefore drag him away from the beasts of the field. Thus Ukhat appeals to him:

I look at thee, O Enkidu [i.e. Eabani], and thou
art like a god;
Why with the animals
Dost thou range at large over the steppe?
Come, I will lead thee
.....
To Eanna, the dwelling of Anu,
Where [Gilgamesh] is, mighty in deeds.[58]

Having been instructed in how to lure him by her naked body and female charm, Ukhat succeeded in her mission, after Eabani had enjoyed her embraces for six days and seven nights. Ukhat then takes Eabani to the city of Uruk where Gilgamesh lives. That Eabani encountered a sad fate is apparent from his cursing of Ukhat whom, together with Saidu [the counterpart of the serpent in the Biblical Fall] he holds responsible for his death after promising he would be like a god, i.e. immortal. He bitterly denounces Ukhat's physical charms which turned out disastrous to him.[59]

Eabani's antagonistic attitude towards his consort Ukhat has its counterpart in Harry's towards his wife. Harry and his wife had been away for a period of eight years, during the last year of which the latter vanishes overboard from the liner. The way she disappears sounds mysterious, though Harry is suspected of having murdered his wife by drowning. At one place, he frankly admits: "I pushed her over".[60] At another, he says: "I only dreamt I pushed her."[61] In his encounter with the Eumenides, Harry confesses that he really desired to murder his wife in "a dreaming moment", and the fulfilment of his desire makes him feel as if he has killed her:

> The accident of a dreaming moment,
> Of a dreaming age, when I was someone else
> Thinking of something else, puts me among you.[62]

Whether Harry pushed her or not, it is certain that he, like Eabani, has harboured a feeling of hatred against his consort. Only when she passed away did Harry sleep well: "That night I slept heavily, alone."[63] Charles, "the character most like myself", says Eliot,[64] is highly sympathetic towards Harry for the dolorous time he spent with his wife: "Remember, my boy, I understand, your life together made it seem more horrible."[65] Harry's desire for her death, confides Eliot to Martin Browne, is supposed to be "strong in his mind",[66] as she is responsible for the fact that his life became "an isolated ruin / A casual bit of waste in an orderly universe."[67] She seems to qualify for the same designation as Edward's wife in The Cocktail Party: "the angel of destruction", the "Python", and the "Octapus".[68] In effect, Harry is convinced that the alienation from grace is the consequence of the physical contact with the woman he took as a consort, a conviction which holds true of Eabani and Ukhat, or of Adam and Eve. In these cases, the men wished they had never seen the women.

* * *

The motif of man's subjugation to woman which plays an important role in the Fall is one which The Family Reunion shares with both the Eabani legend of the Gilgamesh Epic and the Biblical narrative of Adam and Eve. Harry's relationship to his wife, along with that of his father to his mother,

illustrates this motif. Harry, since his marriage, has no longer the upper hand in deciding matters. He came under the relentless influence of his wife who leads him almost blindly:

> She only wanted to keep him to herself
> To satisfy her vanity. That is why she dragged him
> All over Europe and half round the world
> To expensive hotels and undesirable society
> Which she could choose herself
> .....
> She never wanted to fit herself to Harry,
> But only to bring Harry down to her own level.[69]

Amy, too, Harry's mother, is the most domineering personality in the household of Wishwood. She has so much power over her husband that the latter gave way to her contrived designs and full control of the family affairs: "Where he [Lord Monchensey] was weak," reveals Agatha to Harry, "he recognized your mother's power, / And yielded to it."[70] She grew stronger and stronger, adds Agatha, "Until she took your father's place."[71] The whole image projected by Amy, suggests one critic, is that of "a domineering old tyrant who sacrifices everything and everybody in the family on the altar of her own grand design".[72]

The domineering personality of Harry's wife and Amy over their husbands corresponds to that which characterizes Ukhat/Eve. Once Eabani succumbs to Ukhat's physical charms she leads him, as blindly as Harry's wife does her husband, to Uruk where Gilgamesh awaits him. Thus the hunter is admonished to

> Tell Gilgamesh of the strength of this man,
> Let him give thee a courtesan, a prostitute, and
> lead her with thee;
> Let the courtesan like a strong one prevail against
> him.
> When he sees her, he will approach her.[73]

Similarly Milton's Adam yields to Eve. He allows her to lead him, as he was "fondly overcome by female charm",[74] which causes "innumerable / Disturbances on Earth."[75] The fact that Eve overpowers Adam is explained by his totally blind obedience to her, which caused his transgression that brought upon him the eternal misfortune and the unavoidable death. The Eve of Milton domineers over her husband. She attributes this trait of domineering personality to the total lack of her husband's command over her in which she finds an excuse for her sinful deed:

> Being as I am, why didst not thou the Head
> Command me absolutely not to go,
> Going into such danger as thou saidst?
> Too facil than thou didst not much gainsay
> Nay, didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss.
> Hadst thou bin firm and fixt in thy dissent,
> Neither had I transgress'd, nor thou with mee.[76]

* * *

Perhaps the closest resemblance between Harry and the first man in both the Eabani legend and the Biblical Fall narrative is his intimate association with the animals before he knew his wife. His love for the animals is intense that he "must often have remembered Wishwood", especially for "The daring feats on the old pony, and the mongrel setter."[77] The association of Harry, the dream-obsessed man,[78] with these animals in particular may be explained by Charles Darwin's observation that horses and dogs possess, like human beings, some power of imagination, and they always have some "vivid dreams".[79] Also, there seems to be a reflection on the desertion of the animals

by the first man as soon as he finds the suitable mate. Harry's mother intimates that she has to do away with the animals with which Harry was connected: the pony and the mongrel setter.[80]

Viewed in this perspective, Harry's intimate relationship with the animals before he was overcome by the female charms roughly corresponds to Eabani-Adam's intimate connection with the beasts before he was seduced by the temptress Ukhat-Eve. Eabani was created from dust by Aruru (i.e. Ishtar) in the image of Anu, the god, "comme le premier homme de la Genèse est fait a l'image de Dieu (Genesis 1:26).[81] He contentedly lived - and apparently he was meant to live forever[82] - among the animals with whom he grazed on herbs and drank water as is evidenced by the following lines given by Loisy:

> Elle (Aruru) fit Eabani le fort, grand rejection
> Tout son corps était couvert de poil; sa chevelure
> etait emoulée comme celle d'une femme;
> .....
> Il ne connaissait ni hommes ni pays;
> Avec les gazelles il mangeait l'herbe,
> Il allait boire avec les animaux des champs,
> Et avec les bêtes des eaux son coeur se plaisait.[83]

On the Biblical level, too, Adam is associated with animals which he, like Harry and his Babylonian counterpart Eabani, deserts as soon as he is given a consort. In Genesis 2:24, one critic detects an allusion to the abandoning of the animals by Adam with which he was intimately associated before the creation of Eve as his mate.[84]

The motif of conjugal disloyalty in The Family Reunion is analogous to that in the Fall narrative. Eliot's view of Harry's relationship with his wife suggests the unfaithfulness

on her part: "the effect of his [Harry's] married life upon him", writes Eliot to Martin Browne, "was one of such horror as to leave him for the time at least in a state that may be called one of being psychologically partially desexed: or rather, it has given him a horror of women as unclean creatures",[85] just as the Adam of Milton appears to have thought of Eve after the temptation scene and his observance of her nakedness.[86] The suggestion is that Harry seems to have come to the conclusion that his wife is unfaithful to him, a matter which agonized him so much that he became "psychologically partially desexed". Hence the rather gloomy distrusting view of women as "unclean creatures", a view which recalls the point Eliot makes à propos Franscesca's betrayal of her husband in the fifth canto of the inferno in Dante's Divine Comedy as the cause of damnation in Hell.[87]

* * *

To discuss now the analogy between Wishwood and the Paradise Lost of Milton: the reason why the North of England is chosen as the place where the action of the play is set may have something to do with the fact that in Milton's poem, the North is the place where Satan and his fellow-rebels are stationed:

> At length into the limits of the North
> They (the legions) came, and Satan to his Royal seat
> High on a Hill, far blazing, as a Mount.[88]

According to Jeremiah,[89] evil breaks forth from the North. In other mythologies, the North, too, is the abode of the devil. Ahriman, the Persian counterpart of Satan, has his abode in the

northern regions.[90] So is the Greek Typhon who lives in the North on Mount Saphon.[91]

Another detail which Wishwood has in common with Paradise Lost is the state of desolation which befell the inhabitants. The Adam of Milton regrets, after the Fall, that he and Eve are "now, despoil'd / Of all our good, shamed, naked, miserable."[92] In Eliot's play, Harry realizes that in Wishwood there is "A misery long forgotten", and "Some origin of wretchedness".[93] There Harry has known "the sobbing in the chimney / The evil in the dark closet."[94] He has undergone the terrible experience of "The partial anaethesia of suffering without feeling",[95] an experience which may echo that of the protagonist in "The Dry Salvages".[96] The marriage of Harry's parents was a loveless one: "There was no ecstasy."[97] In Harry's words, "Family's affection / Was a kind of formal obligation, a duty / Only noticed by its neglect."[98] The prevalence of hatred in Wishwood is one of the reasons which turns it into a place of life-in-death. Mary comes to the sad conclusion "that one is dead" in Wishwood,[99] just like the inhabitants of The Waste Land: "We who were living are now dying / With a little patience."[100] This state of life-in-death recalls Milton's "universe of death", where "all life dies, death lives".[101]

* * *

Just as in some parts Harry recalls Eabani-Adam, so in other parts he too resembles Gilgamesh, the hero of the epic. The chief resemblance between the two consists in the fear of death and search for immortality. Also Harry recalls Gilgamesh

in respect of the deep concern with dreams. Even the name of Harry's mother "Amy" seems to have been suggested by the name of Gilgamesh's mother which Eliot derives from Loisy. The appellation "Amy" from Old French "aimée" means "beloved".[102] The name of Gilgamesh's mother as is shown by Loisy is "Rimaṭbélit", which means "Aimée de Bélit".[103]

As for Harry's concern with dreams, he appears to be a highly imaginative dreamy person. He can see the insubstantial shadowy Eumenides, "the sleepless hunters",[104] rebuking others, such as Mary for being "so imperceptive", having "such dull senses" that she could not see them.[105] He is so imaginative that he is not sure whether he "pushed" his wife overboard or not.[106] He is unable to see if Sergeant Winchell is real or a figment of his imagination.[107] Of all the members of his family Harry thinks of himself as the only person who has "woken to the nightmare".[108] He goes further than this, asserting that his own life "has only been a dream / Dreamt through me by the minds of others."[109] The fact that he attaches too much importance to dreams which seem to be part of his own private life relates him to the savage of the primitive society,[110] who, urges Frazer, regards dreams as part of his waking life:

> The savage, it is said, fails to distinguish the visions of sleep from the realities of waking life, and accordingly when he has dreamed of his dead friends he necessarily concludes that they have not wholly perished, but that their spirits continue to exist in some place and some form, though in the ordinary course of events they elude the perceptions of his senses.[111]

Like the savage of Frazer who visualizes his dead friends in some place and some form, Harry seems to have a vision of his deceased wife in the form of a ghost:

> One thinks to escape
> By violence, but one is still alone
> In an over-crowded desert, jostled by ghosts.[112]

That Harry has in mind the death of his wife, whose ghost appears to him among the ghosts in an over-crowded desert is evidenced by the lines that follow on the previous ones, and i which he mentions how conscious-stricken he is for murdering her, though later he revokes it, saying that it was a dream an not a reality:

> It was only reversing the senseless direction
> For a momentary rest on the burning wheel
> That cloudless night in the mid-Atlantic
> When I pushed her over.[113]

Harry's dreams, in terms of Henri Bergson's theory, are stimulated both by images from his past life in his memory on which the mind exercises itself during sleep, and by the perceptions and sensations upon which the mind exercises itsel during the waking-state.[114]

Gilgamesh, too, is obsessed by dreams. For the interpretation of these dreams, he seeks the assistance of his companion Eabani whom he summons.[115] The summoning of Eabani to interpret Gilgamesh's dreams suggests that of Downing, Harry's servant, in order to give full explanation to Harry's "dream" that he pushed his wife overboard the liner.[116]

* * *

The major resemblance between Harry and Gilgamesh is the fear of death which seems to be the pivot on which both the epic of Gilgamesh and the Biblical narrative of the Fall rest. The problem of death, suggests one critic, is the central theme of the epic,[117] a problem which terrified the Babylonians in general, to whom the present life is incomparably superior to that beyond the grave.[118] In a similar manner, the quintessence of the whole story of the fall, urges Frazer, "appears to be an attempt to explain man's mortality, to set forth how death came into the world".[119] The fear of death has very naturally occupied the mind of men in all ages.[120] People fear death, says Socrates in Plato's Apology, as if "they apprehend it to be the greatest evils".[121] Eliot, it should be noted, has expressed deep concern about death which brings him closer to Laforgue, who is "very conscious of death",[122] a poet to whom our author is indebted "more than any poet in any language".[123] Eliot is "the prince of morticians", writes Ezra Pound in Canto LXXX, whose language is that of the dead spoken by none.[124] For Eliot, death is "the eternal Footman" that holds everyone's coat.[125] It is so inevitable, says Eliot, that nobody can either escape or deny it: "Life you may evade, but Death you shall not. / You shall not deny the Stranger."[126] In view of Eliot's preoccupation with death, one wonders whether it is Eliot rather than Webster who "was much possessed by death / And saw the skull beneath the skin."[127]

No wonder then that The Family Reunion highlights the motif of death. Apart from Harry's fear of death which recalls that of Gilgamesh, as will be shown a little later, there is a great deal of emphasis on the concern with the matter of old age which

causes anxiety and disquietude. Amy, for example, the oldest member of the family expresses her apprehension concerning the unexpected visitation of death upon old people like herself:

> You none of you understand how old you are
> And death will come to you as a mild surprise.[128]

It is more or less the same note Edward reiterates in The Cocktail Party where he is

> Beginning to know what it is to feel old.
> That is the worst moment, when you feel that
> you have lost
> The desire for all that was most desirable
> .....
> How could you understand what it is to feel old?[129]

It is the feeling of estrangement from this world that an old person begins to experience: "As we grow older", says Eliot, "The world becomes stranger."[130] With the advent of old age man feels as much insecure as the primitive King who, according to Frazer, was put to death on the approach of old age,[131] for he comes to realize that he is about to cross the Stygian ferry. This is what agonizes Charles, the character who is most like Eliot:[132]

> I suppose I'm getting old:
> Old age came softly up to now. I felt safe enough;
> And now I don't feel safe. As if the earth should open
> Right to the centre, as I was about to cross Pall Mall.[13

Not only do people fear old age, but they are also apprehensive about declining power. The gardener of Wishwood, for example, has grown too old to look after the garden which has nearly become "stony rubbish", so to speak. Thus Ivy

exhorts Harry to

> find a successor to old Hawkins
> It's really high time the old man was pensioned:
> He's let the rock garden go to rack and ruin,
> And he's nearly half-blind.[134]

The cook, too, like the gardener has grown old, and the consequence is "the waste that goes on in the kitchen / Mrs. Packell is too old to know what she is doing."[135]

Harry's fear of death is fostered by the death of his wife, just as Gilgamesh's was stimulated by the death of Eabani. Harry's terror at seeing the Eumenides reminds him of the death of his wife which in turn brings to his mind his own death. In this sense, we are reminded of the Gopsum Street man, in Eliot's "Eeldrop and Appleplex" (1917), who murders his mistress; yet he is already dead for the brief space he has to live.[136] Harry's obsession with death and fear of the ghost of his drowned wife are explained by the following passage which also suggests that the other world is worse than this one,[137] to the extent that the dead want to return in the spring, the month of natural rebirth:

> Spring is an issue of blood
> A season of sacrifice
> And the wail of the new full tide
> Returning the ghosts of the dead
> Those whom the winter drowned
> Do not the ghosts of the drowned
> Return to land in the spring?
> Do the dead want to return?[138]

The most explicit feeling of trepidation which overwhelms Harry takes place in his scene with Mary when the Eumenides suddenly

make their portentous appearance. Like Gilgamesh's horrified meeting with the scorpion-men, connected with the world of the dead,[139] Harry's encounter with the Eumenides is so frightening that he asociates them with the nether world of the shadows and necrophily which terrifies him out of his wits:

> I tell you, it is not me you are looking at,
> Not me you are grinning at, not me your confidential looks
> Incriminate, but that other person, if person
> You thought I was: let your necrophily
> Feed upon that carcase. They will not go.[140]

Just as the haunting of Harry by death is stimulated by the demise of his wife, the closest person to him, so Gilgamesh's fear of death is occasioned by the death of his intimate friend Eabani: "I became frightened", moans Gilgamesh over the corpse of Eabani, "and became afraid of death".[141] The opening lines of tablet nine of the epic,[142] illustrate more poignantly the fear of death which overwhelms Gilgamesh after the demise of Eabani. On seeing his dead friend, Gilgamesh weeps and his grief-stricken spirit is overpowered by anxiety over the fate of mankind. He therefore thinks of leaving home with all possible speed in quest of his immortal ancestor Utnapishtim, who escaped the deluge, seeking advice from him on how to avoid death:

> Gilgamesh for Enkidu, his friend,
> Weeps bitterly and roams over the desert.
> When I die, shall I not be like unto Enkidu?
> Sorrow has entered my heart.
> I am afraid of death and roam over the desert.
> To Utnapishtim, the son of Ubara-tutu,
> I have therefore taken the road and shall speedily
> go there.[143]

* * *

Harry's insistence on leaving Wishwood for a destination apparently in the desert can be explained by the departure from Uruk by Gilgamesh who roams over the desert, lamenting that he will meet the same fate as his friend.[144] It is more or less the lamentation launched in another style by Harry who, as is previously mentioned,[145] broods over the dead and their ghosts. Since Harry-Gilgamesh has undergone the terrible experience of visualizing the unhappy ghost of the person with whom he lived, he is expected to be tormented by the mere idea of death; otherwise he would have viewed death from a different angle.[146] The ambiguous withdrawal of Harry from Wishwood and his uncertain whereabouts after the curtain falls puzzle critics. For Helen Gardner, Harry gives no definite account of his destination.[147] Grover Smith has objected to the lack of specific information respecting Harry's halting-place after the curtain falls.[148] The finale of the play, urges one more critic, is robbed of its full thematic significance because the hero's destiny is shrouded in vagueness.[149] However, a close scrutiny of the finale of The Family Reunion reveals a similarity between Harry and Gilgamesh with respect to the withdrawal to the desert. Just as Gilgamesh, agitated by Eabani's death, abandons his home in Uruk and roams over the desert in search of immortality, so Harry leaves Wishwood in no less agitated a state of mind brought about by the death of his wife:

> .....I am afraid of sleep:
> A condition in which one can be caught for the last time
> And also waking. She is nearer than ever.
> The 'contamination has reached the marrow.[151]

In terms of Harry's answer to his mother's question: "Where are you going?",[152] it seems that his destination is the desert, just like his Babylonian counterpart, Gilgamesh. Thus in reply to this question, Harry intimates that he is going

> To the worship in the desert .....
> A stony sanctuary and a primitive altar,
> The heat of the sun and the icy vigil.[153]

In these lines there seem to be two allusions to Gilgamesh. First Harry's connection, like Gilgamesh, with the desert. Second, his devotion to the primitive altars, a detail which recalls that of Gilgamesh who, according to the epic, built the holy temple of Eanna, and he was dedicated to Anu, the head of the Sumerian pantheon and to his daughter Ishtar.[154]

Like Gilgamesh, too, Harry comes across terrifying objects. With respect to Gilgamesh, he underwent the horrifying experience of his encounter with the scorpion-people keeping watch at the gate of the underworld: "Those whose radiance is terrifying and whose look is death."[155] On seeing them Gilgamesh "became gloomy with fear and dismay".[156] Similarly Harry's sinews stiffen when he is confronted with the Eumenides. They appear to him in his scene with Mary, and he cannot bear the sight of them, just like Gilgamesh's attitude to the scorpion-men: "Don't look at me like that! Stop! Try to stop it!"[157]

* * *

Harry, resorting to Mary with whom he has brief rapprochement, resembles Gilgamesh's encounter with the

"demoiselle de comptoir". Gilgamesh bewails his fate after the death of Eabani: "My friend, who went with me through all hardships, / ... Him the fate of mankind has overtaken! Six days and seven nights I wept over him."[158] In an attempt to relieve his grief, Gilgamesh turns to the "demoiselle de comptoir", hoping that she might do something to help him:

> Since he [i.e. Eabani] is gone, I find no life.
> I have roamed about like a hunter in the midst of the steppe.
> And now, O barmaid, that I see thy face,
> May I not see death, which I dread![159]

The "demoiselle de comptoir" disappoints him, for she tells him that he will not be able to achieve the immortal life he strives at, because the gods allotted death to mankind, and retained life for themselves. She therefore admonishes him to enjoy himself for the rest of the days he lives on this earth:

> Thou, O Gilgamesh, let thy belly be full,
> Day and night be thou merry;
> Make every day a day of rejoicing
> Day and night do thou dance and play.[160]

Like Gilgamesh, Harry attempts to evade the haunting imagination of death by approaching Mary. Harry's attraction towards Mary, writes Eliot, "glimmers for a moment in his mind, half-consciously as a possible 'way of escape'."[161] Harry sadly confides to Mary that there is no alternative for death, once the hope in immortal life is lost:

> One thing you cannot know
> The sudden extinction of every alternative,
> The unexpected crash of the iron cataract.
> You do not know what hope is, until you have lost it.[162]

In reply Mary, like the "demoiselle de comptoir" in the Gilgamesh Epic, agrees with Harry that the loss of hope is very painful, but she advises him to cling to hope in this world. In other words, she urges him to rid himself of despair, and try to adapt himself to this world:

> That sudden comprehension of the death of hope
> Of which you speak, I know you have experienced it,
> And I can well imagine how awful it must be.
> But in this world another hope keeps springing
> In an unexpected place, while we are unconscious of it.[163]

* * *

Finally, as the last point in our treatment, we turn to the discussion of the motif of death by water which is a reflection on the story of the deluge. This motif is one which Eliot treated not only in The Family Reunion, but elsewhere in his poetry. In "The Dry Salvages", the destructive power of the flood is succinctly expressed through the image of the "sullen, untamed and intractable river, which is "a strong brown god", "implacable / Keeping his seasons and rages, destroyer, reminder / Of what men choose to forget",[164] i.e. to forget the destruction of man by the deluge on account of his sins. Only drowned people, like Phlebas the Phoenician whose bones are "picked" by "a current under sea" can forget death by water and "the deep sea swell".[165]

In The Family Reunion, the theme of death by water is overtly expressed. Harry's wife is drowned in the waters of the Atlantic, "And never even to recover the body."[166] Amy, too, was initially meant to encounter the same fate, i.e. death

by water. The original conception of the attempted murder of Amy by her husband consisted in his contrived idea of pushing her into a well, as is apparent from the following exchanges between Agatha and Harry in one of the drafts of the play:

> Agatha: I found he was thinking
> How to get rid of your mother.
> Harry: To push her?
> Agatha: Into a well.[167]

It was only at the prompting of Martin Browne and Ashley Dukes that Eliot suppressed the idea of pushing Amy into a well.[168] The fact that only women are meant to undergo the agony of death by water appears to indicate that Eliot attributes the sins in this world to women, a detail which strengthens the theological view, previously discussed, that Eve and not Adam, is responsible for Original Sin, and therefore her descendents should be wiped away by violent death.

Harry, thus, survives the disaster of drowning by water which befell his wife - supposing that he has not murdered her but she was "swept off the deck in the middle of a storm"[169] at a time when Harry is "standing on the deck, perhaps a few feet away, and she is leaning over the rail".[170] In surviving death by water Harry recalls Utnapishtim, Gilgamesh's ancestor, and the Babylonian Noah who survived the catastrophe of death by water. His story fills tablet XI of the epic of Gilgamesh. The gods intended to destroy by flood the people of Shorrippak, a city situated on the bank of the river Eupherates, on account of their sins. Ea, the benevolent god, benign to mankind, sent a message to Utnapishtim, warning him against the forthcoming calamity, just as Jehovah did Noah,[171]

> build a ship!
> Abandon thy possessions, seek to save life!
> Cause to go up into the ship the seed of all living creatures
> The ship which thou shalt build,
> Its measurements shall be accurately measured;
> Its width and its length shall be equal.[172]

Utnapishtim carried out what the god commanded, exactly in the same way Noah responded to God. Hence the view of the majority of critics that the Babylonian story of the deluge had shaped that of Noah in the Book of Genesis, and some passages in Ezekiel.[173] A. Loisy, for example, noted the correspondence between the two versions: in the Gilgamesh Epic and the Book of Genesis: "la recension de deluge Babylonienne se rapprochait plus des récits de la Genèse, pour la forme générale et pour les détails, que le texte abregé de l'epopée".[174] According to Loisy, Jehovah, in causing the deluge, assumes the role of the Chaldean god who caused the deluge and Ea who saved Utnapishtim-Noah. Thus in his comment on Genesis VI:5-8, Loisy writes:

> Ici ... Iahvé semble avoir deux intentions qui se combattent; il veut détruire l'humanité tout enfière, et il la sauve dans Noé. C'est qu'il réunit en sa personne le rôle des dieux chaldéans, qui ont voulu le déluge, et celui d'Ea qui a sauvé Sitnapishtim.[175]

In the story of the deluge Ishtar figures as the benign Mother of mankind who reveals her deep concern about the welfare of her people, a detail which is partly represented by Agatha in The Family Reunion. According to The Gilgamesh Epic, Ishtar,

on seeing the deluge "cried out like a woman in travail",[176] reproaching Enlil, the warrior-god "Because without reflection he brought on the deluge / And consigned my people to destruction."[177] Agatha seems to recall Ishtar in the sense that she is concerned about the welfare of Harry whom she regards as her own son. Had Agatha not intervened, Harry's father would have murdered his wife who was then pregnant with Harry. The father, confides Agatha to Harry, was thinking of the means by which he would murder his wife:

> a dozen foolish ways, each one abandoned
> For something more ingenious. You were due in three
> months' time;
> You would not have been born in that event:
> I stopped him.[178]

Hence Agatha regards herself as Harry's mother in the same way Ishtar regarded herself as the Mother of mankind. Agatha feels the mother-son bond strongly in her heart since the time when she prevented the attempt on the mother's life:

> I did not want to kill <u>you</u>!
> You to be killed! What were you then? only a
> thing called 'life' -
> Something that should have been <u>mine</u>, as I felt then.
> Most people would not have felt that compunction
> If they felt no other. But I wanted you!
> .....
> I felt that you were in some way mine![179]

Indeed Agatha's claim that she is the mother of Harry can be seen in terms of the Babylonian belief in Ishtar as the Mother of mankind. It was Ishtar, under the name of Aruru, who created men like Eabani.[180] Agatha, too, has something in common with

Ishtar: "Only Agatha", reflects Amy, "seems to discover some meaning in death / Which I cannot find."[181] Here is an overt allusion to Ishtar's connection with the world of the dead into which she descended in order to deliver Tammuz, her consort.

Harry and Mary esteem Agatha, perhaps in the same way the Semitic people revered Ishtar. For Harry, Agatha, on account of her superhuman nature, is the only person who can support him:

> I have thought of you as the completely strong,
> The liberated from the human wheel.
> So I looked to you for strength. Now I think it is
> A common pursuit of liberation.[182]

Mary, too, like Harry, seeks Agatha for assistance, with respect to her future life after leaving Wishwood: "I want your advice", appeals Mary to Agatha, "because you are strong".[183]

So far we have seen that the Biblical narrative of the Fall has been discredited as a result of anthropological investigations - let alone scientific inquiries respecting the origin of man - which have revealed the dependence of the narrative upon the Eabani-Ukhat episode in the Gilgamesh Epic. This view is held by writers such as J.G. Frazer and Alfred Loisy, who have influenced Eliot. In other words, these writers no longer believe in the Old Testament narratives of the fall and the deluge as authentically valid. For they think that these narratives are imitative of the pre-Biblical legends of Babylonia which are much older than their Biblical counterparts. When Eliot therefore adapted motifs from the Babylonian narratives of the Fall and the deluge, he was aware that they shaped the Old Testament parallels. One might object, saying that Eliot perhaps did not have in mind the Gilgamesh Epic, and

what he really did was to adapt the Biblical narrative of the fall rather than the narrative of Eabani-Ukhat in the Gilgamesh Epic. To such an objection, I would like to reply by drawing attention to the fact that certain motifs relating to the fall and the deluge which Eliot adapts have parallels only in the Gilgamesh Epic. These are: Harry's fear of death as a consequence of the demise of his wife. The other motif which has no parallel in the Old Testament is related to the roaming of the hero, Harry - Gilgamesh, in the end, and his search for a means by which he can ward off death. Apart from these two major motifs (let alone the name of Harry's mother which has been suggested by that of Gilgamesh's mother) there are other minor details which, too, have parallels only in the Gilgamesh Epic. Agatha, for example, is endowed with attributes which are peculiar to the Ishtar of the Gilgamesh Epic. Just as Ishtar is the only person to understand death for she annually descends to Hades, so is Agatha the sole character to discover meaning in death. In addition, Agatha's deep concern for Harry whom she protected from being destroyed closely corresponds to Ishtar's deep solicitude for man whose destruction she endeavoured to avert.

I have traced motifs as far back as the Gilgamesh Epic and the Biblical narrative of the fall. Harry's fall from grace brought about by his marriage corresponds to that of Eabani-Adam for which Ukhat-Eve is responsible. Harry's subjugation to his wife to whom he shows complete obedience which in the end proves disastrous is a motif which has its counterpart in both the Gilgamesh Epic and the Old Testament, where the woman, by temptation, compels the first man to obey her, a misdeed which

contributes to the fall of man. Finally, a minor point, Harry's close association with the animals in Wishwood before uniting with his consort correlates with that of Eabani and Adam in The Gilgamesh Epic and the Old Testament respectively.

Notes

1. See Alexander Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1964, pp. 1-2.

2. This is the date of the composition of the epic, as is suggested by critics; but the materials inscribed on the tablets is undoubtedly much older (see Alexander Heidel, Ibid, p. 15).

3. For the composition of Genesis about 750 B.C., see Encyclopedia Biblica, II, 1674-5.

4. J. G. Frazer, Folk-lore in the Old Testament (abridged edn.), p. 18.

5. Ibid, p. VIII.

6. Ibid, pp. 18-19.

7. The Family Reunion, edited with an introduction and commentary by Nevill Coghill, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1969, p. 53.

8. N. P. Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin, Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., London, 1929, p. 40.n.1.

9. One of these incongruities noted by Williams is that there is no reason why the serpent gratuitously interfered with the happy condition of the couple, for the tempter animal seems to gain nothing from the affair, and he has lost various gratifying privileges (N. P. Williams, Ibid, p. 48).

10. Ibid, pp. 9-10.

11. T. S. Eliot, "Goethe as the Sage", On Poetry and Poets, p. 219.

12. Cf. also Auguste Comte, the French thinker of the "positive philosophy" who set out with the idea of promoting the scientific reorganisation of a world, which, according to him, had no further use for God (see Adrien Dansette, op. cit., II, 379).

13. Quoted in A. D. Moody, Thomas Stearns Eliot Poet, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, pp. 26-7.

14. G. C. Rawlinson, Recent French Tendencies from Renan to Claudel, Robert Scott, London, 1917, pp. 94-5.

15. "Je crois que c'était une bonne fortune exceptionelle, pour un adolescent, de découvrir Paris en l'an 1910. La Nouvelle Revue Française était encore vraiment nouvelle: et les Cahiers de la Quinzaine paraissaient, sous leur austère couverture de papier gris, mais pour avoir vraiment connu la ferveur bergsonienne, il faut être allé, régulièrement, chaque semaine, dans cette salle plein à craquer où il faisait ses cours, au Collège de France." (Quoted in Kristian Smidt, Poetry and Belief in the Work of T. S. Eliot, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1961, p. 18.)

16. A. D. Moody, op. cit., p. 26.

17. G. C. Rawlinson, op. cit., pp. 67-8.

18. Reproduced in A. D. M oody, op. cit., pp. 41-49.

19. Les Mythes, Babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Genese, Alphonse Picard et fils, Paris, 1901, p. 209.

20. Loisy, The Religion of Israels, p. xxiv.

21. The Criterion, VI, No. 2 (August 1927) 171-2.

22. See Loisy, Les Mythes Babyloniens, pp. 105-6.

23. I.i. pp. 20-21. References to J. R. Anderson's play are from Babel: A Dramatic Poem, Ernest Benn Ltd, London, 1927.

24. Les Mythes Babyloniens, pp. 136-141.

25. Genesis, 6ff.

26. I.i. pp. 25-26.

27. Loisy, Les Mythes Babyloniens, pp. 17ff.

28. E. Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 90.

29. Reproduced in T. S. Eliot's On Poetry and Poets, pp. 138-145.

30. "Milton I", On Poetry and Poets, p. 144.

31. Skinner explains the Book of Genesis in terms of the legends and myths which prevailed in Babylonia and other nations with which the Israelits were connected (A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1910, pp. viii-xiii).

32. "The 'Pensées' of Pascal", Selected Essays, p. 410.

33. Philosophical Dictionary, I, J. & H. L. Hunt, London, 1824. p. 43. There is no trace of Adam and Eve, urges Voltaire, either in Egypt or in Babylon. He then proceeds to draw attention to the fact that two eminent Fathers of the Church are reticent with respect to the supposed parents of the human race: "Clement of Alexandria who collected so many ancient testimonials, would not have failed to quote any passage in which mention has been of Adam and Eve. Eusebius, in his Universal History, has examined even the most doubtful testimonies and would assuredly have made the most of the smallest allusion ... to our first parents (Ibid).

34. "Niccolo Machiavelli", For Lancelot Andrewes, Faber & Faber Ltd., London, 1970, p. 51.

35. The Poetical Works of William Blake, edited by John Sampson, Oxford University Press, London, 1913, p. 249.

36. Paradise Lost, Bk IV: 712-14, References to this work are from The Poetical Works of John Milton, Oxford University Press, London, 1908.

37. Lyndall Gordon, op. cit., p. 80.

38. Grover Smith, op. cit., p. x.

39. Lyndall Gordon, op. cit., p. 78.

40. See Supra, p. 9.

41. Quoted in Lyndall Gordon, op. cit., p. 80.

42. The Waste Land, in Poems and Plays, p. 65.

43. Lyndall Gordon, op. cit., p. 76.

44. See Eliot's discussion of what he calls the "weaknesses" which result from the adaptation of these old themes to the modern stage ("Poetry and Drama" (1951) in On Poetry and Poets, pp. 83-84).

45. I.i. p. 286.

46. I.i. p. 286.

47. See supra, p. 235.
48. N. P. Williams, op. cit., p. 34.

49. Ibid, p. 58.

50. Quoted in F. R. Tennent, The Origin and Propagation of Sin, The University Press, Cambridge, 1902, pp. 151-2.

51. Ibid, p. 152.

52. Kristian Smidt, op. cit., p. 195.

53. Ibid, p. 196.

54. The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism, pp. 126-7.

55. II.ii, p. 330.

56. I.i. p. 290.

57. Les Mythes Babyloniens, pp. 110ff.

58. Tablet II, Col. ii, in A. Heidel, op. cit., p. 27. References to the Gilgamesh Epic are taken from this work.

59. A. Loisy, Les Mythes Babyloniens, pp. 117-18. See also Morris Jastrow, "Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature", The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, XV (July 1899), 209.

60. I.i. p. 294.

61. II.ii. p. 333.

62. I. ii. p. 311.

63. I.i. p. 295.

64. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of Eliot's Plays, p. 106.

65. I.i. p. 295.

66. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of Eliot's plays, p. 107.

67. II.i. p. 326.

68. I.iii. p.398.

69. I.i. p. 290.

70. II.ii. p. 332.

71. II.ii. p. 332.

72. M. K. Naik, "Religion and Literature: The Failure of the Family Reunion", in Twentieth Century American Criticism, edited by Rajnath, Arnold-Heinemann, London, 1977, p. 201.

73. Tablet I, Col. iii, in A. Heidel, op. cit., p. 20.

74. Paradise Lost, Bk IX, l. 999.

75. Ibid, Bk X, ll. 897-8.

76. Ibid, Bk IX, ll. 1155-61.

77. I.i. p. 288.

78. See Infra, p. 252.

79. Charles Darwin, The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex, John Murray, London, 1901, p. 113.

80. I.i. p. 288.

81. A. Loisy, Les mythes Babyloniens, p. 108.

82. Eabani, when Gilgamesh went to see his shadow in the nether world, cursed Ukhat, the harlot for causing his death, a detail which may explain that he was meant to live for good with the animals. The supposition that man can live for ever with the animals anticipated certain views of modern biologists. August Weissmann, notes Frazer, has suggested that "death is not a natural necessity, that many of the lowest species of living animals do in fact live for ever; and that in the higher animals the custom of dying has been introduced in the course of evolution for the purpose of thinning the population and preventing the degradation of the species, which should otherwise follow through the gradual and necessary deterioration of the immortal individual. (Frazer, Man, God and Immortality, Dawsons of Pall Mall, London, 1968, p. 357.)

83. Les mythes Babyloniens, p. 108. For the corresponding lines, see Tablet I, Col. ii, p. 19 in Alexander Heidel, op. cit., p. 19.

84. Morris Jastrow, "Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature", op. cit., p. 207.

85. .. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 107.

86. : Milton's "Adam exhorts the naked Eve to cover herself with the leaves so that this "new comer shame/There sit not, and reproach us as unclean" (Bk IX, ll. 1097-8).

87. "Dante", The Sacred Wood, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1976, pp. 165-6.

88. Bk V, ll. 752-4.

89. 1:14; 6:1.

90. A. V. Williams Jackson, "Ahriman" in Encyclopedia of Religon and Ethics, I, 237 col. 1.

91. Robert Graves, Hebrew Myths, p. 84.

92. Bk IX, ll. 1138-9.

93. II.ii. p. 331.

94. I.i. p. 296.

95. I.i. p. 294.

96. E.g. "There is no end of it, the voiceless wailing,/... To the movement of pain that is painless and motionless." (see Poems and Plays, p. 186).

97. II.ii. p. 332.

98. II.ii. p. 334.

99. II.iii. p. 343.

100. Poems and Plays, p. 72.

101. Paradise Lost, Bk II, ll. 622-4.

102. E. G. Withycombe, The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977.

103. Les mythes Babyloniens, p. 110.

104. I.ii. p. 311

105. I. ii. p. 312

106. See Supra, p. 245.

107. II.i. p. 321

108. I.i, p. 293

109. II.ii. p. 333

110. Eliot, like D. H. Lawrence and Aldous Huxley, prefers the primitive society to the Christian one: "Compared with any degree of Christian society that has ever been actual, there have been, or are said to have been, primitive societies, in which are found a far higher average of pleasure and a far lower average of pain: advocates of sex reform are always referring us to the manners of the happy Tropriand Islanders." (T. S. Eliot, "Catholicism and International Order, Essays Ancient and Modern, Faber & Faber, London, 1936, p. 123.)

111. J. G. Frazer, Man, God and Immortality, Dawsons of Pall Mall, London, 1968, pp. 367-8. Compare a similar view expressed in 1871 by E. B. Tylor in Primitive Culture which is quoted by Eliot on a separate sheet inserted into the text of his unpublished essay "The Interpretation of Primitive Ritual": "Even in healthy waking life, the savage or barbarian has never learnt to make that rigid distinction between ... imagination and reality" (see Piers Gray, op. cit., p. 136 n. 34).

112. I.i. p. 294

113. I.i. p. 294

114. Henri Bergson, Mind-Energy, translated by H. W. Carr, Macmillan & Co. Ltd, London, 1920, pp. 98-9.

115. See Tablet I, Cols. V & VI; Table II, col, i, Tablet V, Col. ii, in A. Heidel, op. cit., pp. 23-24, 26, 46.

116. I.i. pp. 298-300.

117. Alexander Heidel, op. cit., p. 137

118. Stephen Langdon, "Death and Disposal of the Dead (Babylonian)", Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, IV, 444, col. 1. Compare the Biblical view of the superiority of life over death: "For to him that is joined with all the living there is hope: for a living dog is better than a dead lion." (Ecclesiastes, 9:5)

119. Folk-lore in the Old Testament, p. 16

120. J. G. Frazer, The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead, I, 31.

121. The Dialogues of Plato, I, 354.

122. See Bernard Bergonzi, op. cit., p. 9

123. T. S. Eliot, To Criticize the Critic, Faber & Faber Ltd., London, 1965, p. 22.

124. Ezra Pound, The Cantos of Ezra Pound, Faber & Faber Ltd., London, 1964, p. 531.

125. T. S. Eliot, "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" in Poems and Plays, p. 15.

126. T. S. Eliot, Choruses from 'The Rock', in Poems and Plays, p. 156.

127. T. S. Eliot, "Whispers of Immortality", in Poems and Plays, p. 52.

128. I.i. p. 287

129. I.ii. p. 381

130. T. S. Eliot, "East Coker", in Poems and Plays, p. 182.

131. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Dying God, p. 36.

132. See Supra, p.246.

133. II.iii. p. 345.

134. I.i. p. 292.

135. I.i. pp. 292-3.

136. Quoted in Carol H. Smith, op. cit., p. 123.

137. Compare the Babylonian belief in the superiority of this world over the one beyond the grave. See Supra p.254.

138. I.ii. p. 310

139. See Infra, p.259.

140. I.ii. p. 311

141. Tablet X, Col. V, in Heidel, op. cit., p. 78

142. Tablet IX, Col. i, in Heidel, Ibid, p. 64.

143. Heidel, Ibid, p. 64

144. A. Heidel, Ibid, p. 8.

145. See Supra, p. 253.

146. Compare Bertrand Russell's view which is relevant to our discussion: "People who believe that when they die they will inherit eternal bliss may be expected to view death without horror". ("What I believe" (1925), in Why I am not a Christian, p. 42.)

147. Helen Gardner, The Art of T. S. Eliot, Faber & Faber Ltd., London, 1957, p. 155.

148. Grover Smith, op. cit., p. 200.

149. M. K. Naik, "The Failure of the Family Reunion", Twentieth Century American Criticism, pp. 205-6.

150. George Smith, The Chaldean Account of Genesis, Sampson Low, London, 1880, pp. 328-9.

151. I.i. p. 295

152. II.ii. p. 339

153. II.ii. p. 339

154. See Alexander Heidel, op. cit., p. 16.

155. Tablet IX, col. ii, in Heidel, Ibid., p. 65.

156. Heidel, Ibid.

157. II.ii. p. 311

158. Tablet X, Col. V, in A. Heidel, op. cit., p. 78.

159. Tablet X, Col. 2, in A. Heidel, Ibid., p. 70.

160. Tablet X, Col. 3, Heidel, Ibid., p. 70.

161. From a letter to Martin Browne in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's plays, p. 107.

162. I.ii, p. 307.

163. I.ii. p. 308

164. "The Dry Salvages", in Poems and Plays, p. 184.

165. The Waste Land, in Poems and Plays, p. 71.

166. I.i. p. 289.

167. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays, p. 115.

168. See Ashley Dukes' letter to Eliot in Martin Browne, Ibid., p. 106.

169. I.i. p. 289.

170. See Eliot's letter to Martin Browne, in Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's plays, p. 108.

171. Genesis, 6:12-22.

172. Tablet XI in Heidel, op. cit., p. 81.

173. Leonard King noted points of similarity between a passage in the Gilgamesh epic, XI, ll. 177-184 (in Heidel, pp. 87-8) and Ezekiel, XIV:12-20. He argues that the passage in the epic [i.e. Ea's diatribe against Enlil, the God who caused the Flood, for being too brutal, as he consulted none as to the destruction of sinners and non-sinners alike, wish that he would have punished mankind by some other means than flood]. The Babylonian passage, contends King, must have shaped the passage in Ezekiel,XIV:12-20, who "may have heard the Babylonian version recited after his arrival in the Chebar." (see L. W. King, op. cit., p. 133-4).

174. Les mythes Babyloniens, p. 140.

175. Les mythes Babyloniens, p. 137.

176. Tablet XI, in Heidel, op. cit., p. 85.

177. Tablet XI, in Heidel, Ibid., p. 87.

178. II.ii. pp. 332-3.

179. II.ii. p. 333.

180. Loisy, Les mythes Babyloniens, p. 64.

181. I.i. p. 287.

182. II.ii. p. 331.

183. I.ii. p. 304.

CHAPTER 7

The Cocktail Party:

The Adaptation of the Isis Legend and Other Motifs in The Golden Ass of Apuleius

T.S. Eliot, in his appraisal of The Cocktail Party, made the announcement that in writing the play, he had to go to the Alcestis of Euripides for his theme and to conceal the origins so well that no one discovered them until he pointed them out himself. He had had to convince them of "the genuineness of inspiration", and those who were puzzled by the eccentric behaviour of his unknown. Sir Henry Harcourt-Reilly were satisfied to know that he was inspired by the behaviour of Heracles in the Greek play.[1] Unfortunately apart from this detail which Sir Henry and Heracles have in common, Eliot said nothing about any other points of contact between The Cocktail Party and the Greek play. Nor has scholarly effort explored any further dimensions than what Eliot has briefly but succinctly disinterred. Critics were surprised by the very meagre similarities between Eliot's play and its revealed classical source, the Alcestis of Euripides. Robert Heilman, for example, received the revelation of Eliot, which he called baffling, with shock and discontent. Eliot, he says, did not "cushion the shock by outlining parallels that would compel recognition and assent, for he pointed out only one resemblance between his play and Euripides".[2] In short, critics felt that Eliot did not give an adequate explanation of the correspondences between the two plays. What he really intended to do by revealing this source was to delude his critics, i.e. to divert their attention from the search for the tangible classical source of The Cocktail Party, a source which discredits Judaeo-Christianity, just like the other hidden sources of his other 'modern' plays which I have revealed. In particular, the anti-Christian hidden source upon which Eliot surreptitiously drew

is The Golden Ass of Apuleius. Striking points of contact between Eliot and Apuleius exceed those between Eliot and Euripides. Eliot chose to draw upon a classical romance which has been widely recognized as one of the most vigorous diatribes on Christianity, and its author as one of the most inveterate enemies of the Christians.

As is customarily followed in our procedure of discussion, we have to deal first with the circumstances which prompted Eliot to draw upon the concealed anti-Christian source in writing the play in question. This is a preliminary step which is necessary despite the comparatively voluminous space devoted to this preparatory discussion which precedes the main area of inquiry, i.e. the discussion of the details in The Cocktail Party which are suggested by The Golden Ass of Apuleius. But first a brief word of Apuleius and his work.

* * *

Apuleius was born about 114 A.D. at Maudaura, a small town in Carthage, the then Roman province of North Africa, which at the present time is the modern village of Madaurush in Algeria. He died about 190.[3] The work for which he is well-known is The Golden Ass or Metamorphosis, a Latin romance in eleven books written between 135 and 148 A.D.[4] The plot was based on an extant Greek work "Golden Ass" doubtfully attributed to Lucian. Apuleius' romance which is an autobiographical work,[5] takes the form of a narrative by one Lucius, a Greek, of his adventures, beginning with a visit to Thessaly, the notorious home of witchcraft and sorcery. There, while staying as a guest at the

house of one Milo, he establishes an erotic relationship with the maid of his host. The maid confides to him the secrets of her mistress' profession as a sorceress. She stealthly shows him her mistress change herself into an owl by means of a particular kind of ointment. Having acquired a burning desire to practise magic, Lucius insists on imitating his host's wife. He urges the maid to procure him the ointment. However she gives him the wrong one, which turns him into an ass, instead of an owl. As an ass he falls into the hands of bandits, and he exposes the follies of many people. After he has gone through troublesome vicissitudes Lucius is transformed back into human shape by the favour of the Goddess Isis. His initiation into the mysteries of Isis is indicative of the debt he owes the Goddess.

* * *

I turn now to the discussion of how The Golden Ass of Apuleius suggested itself to Eliot's mind: As is shown in our previous discussions, the revealed sources of Eliot, viz. the ancient Greek plays, incorporate hints which brought to Eliot's mind the hidden anti-Christian sources. The hints in the Ion of Euripides induced Eliot to draw, in writing The Confidential Clerk, upon the legend of the divine Child, Sargon of Accad which is the pre-Biblical counterpart of the legend of Moses, or the legend of Dionysos which is the pre-Biblical counterpart of that of Jesus. The Oresteia of Aeschylus contains hints which, together with other reasons, suggested to Eliot's mind the adaptation in The Family Reunion of the Eabani-Ukhat legend,

the pre-Biblical prototype of the fall narrative of Adam and Eve. In the Alcestis of Euripides there is a handful of hints which urged Eliot, in writing The Cocktail Party, to draw upon The Golden Ass, a work in which Isis, the Egyptian Goddess, is portrayed as the pre-Biblical counterpart of the Virgin Mary, and the Christian dogmas are exposed to slight and ridicule.

The most conspicuous hints in Alcestis which appear to have suggested to Eliot's mind The Golden Ass are the two motifs of hospitality and thaumaturgy for which Thessaly, the same setting in both Alcestis and The Golden Ass, was reputed. As for the motif of hospitality, it is emphatically expressed in Euripides and Apuleius. In Alcestis, the hospitable attitude of Admetus towards Apollo and Heracles is highly remunerative: Apollo, in return, decrees that Admetus may avoid his fated early death if someone else will volunteer to die in his place. The person who does this is Alcestis, his wife. Heracles, whom Admetus entertains in his house at the time of mourning for the death of his wife, returns his debt towards his friend by fighting the spirit of Death, taking Alcestis away from him and restoring her to her husband. In this respect, Euripides is in accord with the affectionate attitude towards hospitality which prevailed among the Greeks in general.[6] In The Golden Ass, the theme of hospitality is exemplified by the story of Aristomenes and Socrates, a story which shows that Apuleius, unlike Euripides, is opposed to hospitality. In this story Aristomenes, the provision merchant finds his friend Socrates in a very desperate state after being robbed by highwaymen and betwitched by sorceresses. Aristomenes, in trying to help Socrates, meets the same fate that befell his friend.[7]

The other hint in the Alcestis of Euripides which seems to have brought to Eliot's mind Apuleius' Golden Ass is the motif of thaumaturgy. In Alcestis, Heracles, in bringing the heroine back from the dead figures as the greatest miracle worker, a motif which is also employed sporadically by Apuleius. One example is the restoration to life of the boy who drank Mandragora, a concoction which brings its user to a state of death-like sleep. The boy was buried on the ground that he was dead, but later he was disinterred and brought back to life.[8] The other example is the temporary restoration to life by Zachlas, an Egyptian priest, of a man murdered by his shriftless wife in order to witness against her.[9]

In addition to the two hints above discussed, the old custom of abstaining from food and drinks when one's sweetheart dies in reverence of him or her is one more hint in Alcestis which seemed to have turned Eliot to The Golden Ass. In Euripides' play, this hint is perspicously expressed in the scene between Heracles and the servant. The servant implicitly reproaches Heracles for revelling in the house whose mistress has just passed away (ll. 773-834). The situation here brings to our mind a similar one in The Golden Ass: Bellephoron accepts in return for money an offer of guarding the corpse of a dead man during the night against the hazards of the witches who break into and bite off by morsels the flesh of the face. In order to entertain himself and pass the night awake, he entreats the wife of the deceased husband to provide him with food and drinks. The widow's offensive reply "Away foole ... commest thou hither to eat, where we should weepe and lament?"[10] immediately evokes the reproach of Heracles by the servant.

* * *

Having discussed the hints in the Alcestis of Euripides which brought to Eliot's attention The Golden Ass, we have to find out how fully acquainted Eliot had been with Apuleius before he wrote The Cocktail Party which was first produced in 1949 at the Edinburgh Festival. As will be seen, Eliot's interest in The Golden Ass of Apuleius mainly springs from his wholehearted belief that the work represents Isis as the prototype of the Virgin Mary. His belief thus expressed is part of an extended interest in the Egyptian triad: Isis, Osiris and Horus as is evidenced by the allusions to these deities in his poetry. Eliot seems to be aware of the critical appraisal of The Golden Ass as a satire on Christianity. These points are the main concern of our following discussion.

Eliot's profound interest in Apuleius goes as far back as the academic year 1908-1909, when an undergraduate at Harvard University, he was faced with the Latin literature course. He enthusiastically opted for Apuleius in the Roman novel subject taught by Clifford H. Moore.[11] Eliot admits that his preoccupation with Latin literature goes as far back as the time when he joined the Smith Academy which was the preparatory department of Harvard University,[12] an institution to which Eliot owes a great deal in respect of his early education.[13] Eliot's drawing upon Apuleius, an alien author of a foreign language, and of a remoter age conforms more or less to his theory of borrowing from past literature:

> For models to imitate, or for styles from which to learn, he (the writer) may often more profitably go to writers of another country and another language, or of a remoter age. Some of my strongest impulse to original development,

> in early years, has come from thinking: 'here is a man who has said something, long ago or in another language, which somehow corresponds to what I want to say now; let me see if I can't do what he has done, in my own language - In the language of my own place and time.[14]

In The Cocktail Party, perhaps, Eliot thought he could recreate something like Apuleius's group of people whose spiritual emptiness and disposition to sensuality imprudently induce them to commit stupid blunders and desecrate the sanctity of the nuptial tie.

* * *

Perhaps the main reason which urged Eliot to draw cryptically upon The Golden Ass is his wholehearted belief that Christianity and the Church owe much to the pagan world of Apuleius, a belief which Eliot audaciously announced in September 1928 when he reviewed The Golden Ass for the Dial. The world of Apuleius, writes Eliot, "was also the world in which Christianity and the Church were being incubated".[15] To give evidence of what he is saying, Eliot refers us to what he calls "one famous passage", the appearance of the Goddess Isis to Lucius before his transformation from an ass to human shape. Here is the passage which Eliot cites in order to demonstrate the influence of the pagan world of Apuleius upon Christianity and the Church:

> Behold, Lucius, I am come; thy weeping and prayer have moved me to succor thee. I am she that is the natural mother of all things, mistress and governess of all the elements, the initial

> progeny of worlds, chief of the powers divine, queen of all that are in hell, the principal of them that dwell in heaven, manifested alone and under one form of all the gods and goddesses. At my will the planets of the sky, the wholesome winds of the sea, and the lamentable silences of hell be disposed; my name, my divinity is adored throughout all the world, in diverse manners, in variable customs, and by many names.[16]

This impresses Eliot as one which "reads like a rather good Collect of the English Church",[17] by which he may appear to suggest, in view of the antiquity of the mysteries, that the prayers to Isis shaped the litany of the Virgin Mary, a view which recalls those of Alfred Loisy and Robert Graves. Loisy, who believes that Isis is the forerunner of the Madonna, suggests that Lucius' invocation of Isis echoes the litany of the Virgin Mary.[18] For Graves, Lucius' "splendid address" to Isis has much in common with the litany of the Blessed Virgin.[19] It is not only the litany which identifies the Virgin Mary with Isis. In the language of the roman Church, notes R.E. Witt, the Virgin Mary is "Sister and spouse of God: sister of Christ", a detail which is attributed to her heathen forbear, Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris.[20] Like Isis too, the Virgin Mary is the protectress of sailors (salvatrix).[21] The Catholic Madonna wears Isis' diadem, and her flower is that of Isis, "the unfading rose".[22]

* * *

In suggesting the impact of the Egyptian religion as represented by Isis upon Christianity as represented by the

Virgin Mary, Eliot reflects the influence of the scrutinizing insights of his apt mentors J.G. Frazer and Alfred Loisy.[23] Frazer persuasively argues that Osiris and Christ are much more alike with respect to the details of death and resurrection than any two divine figures. Hence the implication of the far-reaching influence of the Egyptian religion upon Christianity, since the former religion supported and consoled millions of Egyptian men and women for a period of time longer than that during which Christianity has now existed on earth.[24] For Loisy, the affinities between the litanies of Isis and those of Christ are close. Traces of the litanies of Isis, Loisy concurs with other critics, can be found in the fourth Gospel: Isis and the Christ of this Gospel "parlent tout à fait la même langue, se révélant eux-mêmes en style de litanies".[25] In addition Loisy believes that the Christian rituals especially the Eucharist closely resemble the rituals in the mysteries of Isis and Osiris, a resemblance which he demonstrates by comparing the Scriptural Eucharist with that of Osiris as recorded in "les textes magiques où les sang d'Osiris est dit avoir ete donné à boire à Isis dans une coupe de vin."[26]

* * *

Eliot's deep concern with the Egyptian religion is evident not only from his belief that the world of Apuleius with its adherence to the pagan worship of Isis influenced Christianity and the Church, but from the sporadic allusions in his poetry to Isis and Osiris as the pre-Biblical counterparts of the Virgin Mary and Christ respectively. The most elaborate allusion to

Isis occurs in "The Dry Salvages" not overtly but covertly under the name, the Lady of the Sea, worshipped by the sailors and fishermen. Here the poet invokes the Goddess to pray for a safe return from the jaws of the sea of everyone who has connexion with the sea:

> Lady, whose shrine stands on the promontory,
> Pray for all those who are in ships, those
> Whose business has to do with fish, and
> Those concerned with every lawful traffic
> and those who conduct them.
> Repeat a prayer also on behalf of
> Women who have seen their sons or husbands
> Setting forth, and not returning:
> Figlia del tuo figlio
> Queen of Heaven.
> Also pray for those who were in ships, and
> Ended their voyage on the sand, in the sea's lips
> Or in the dark throat which will not reject them
> Or wherever cannot reach them the sound of the sea bell's
> Perpetual angelus.[27]

I have quoted at length to show how impressed Eliot is by Isis in her role as the Goddess of the sea, invoked for the protection of everyone connected with the sea from its fearful perils, a role which is taken over by her successor the Virgin Mary[28]. That Isis is the Goddess of the sea there is not the least doubt. She confides to Lucius, the hero of The Golden Ass, that she is in full control of the winds of the sea.[29] When she appears to him, she emerges from the sea.[30] Lucius, it should be noted, regained his human shape when he, at the discretion of Isis, partook in the procession made in honour of her as the Goddess of the Sea, plucked a rose and ate it from the garland carried by her priest. This procession was annually

held to mark the opening of the navigation season after the cessation of storms and winds. In it a new ship called "Isis" was launched and dedicated to the Goddess,[31] as Deity of the sea.

The other allusion to Isis in conjunction with Osiris is in The Waste Land where there is a reflection on the dog as her best friend whose diligent search for the portions of Osiris' corpse mutilated by the malevolent Set, and ingeniously interred in different places all over the country was highly gratifying:

> O keep the Dog far hence, that's friend to men
> Or with his nails he'll dig it up again.[32]

For the great service which the dogs rendered Isis we have the authority of the ancient writer Diodorus of Sicily and Plutarch. Diodorus says that Isis, in her search for the murdered Osiris, was guided by the dog who protected her from the wild beasts and wayfarers. He helped her with much affection which he bore for her by baying; and this is the reason why at the festival of Isis the procession is led by dogs.[33] According to Plutarch, Isis rewarded the dog for his help by appointing him her guard and attendant, giving him the appellation "Anubis".[34]

Osiris figures in The Waste Land as the prototype of Christ, a detail which appears to have been derived from Frazer's Adonis Attis Osiris, whose influence Eliot acknowledges.[35] The allusion to Osiris which precedes the one to the Dog of Isis, concerns his death and resurrection. The protagonist, on seeing a Stetson in London, a soldier who was with him on the warships at Mylae showers him with these questions:

> That corpse you planted last year in your garden,
> Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year
> Or has the sudden frost disturbed its bed?[36]

The allusion to Osiris' death and resurrection which, according to Frazer, "occupied the same place as the death and resurrection of Christ hold in the faith of Christians",[37] is unmistakably suggestive, for it brings to our mind Osiris, the Vegetation-god. The resurrection of the Vegetation-god Osiris in the form of the seed[38] is an adequate explanation of Eliot's "Has it (the corpse) begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?"

* * *

Eliot's belief in Egyptian religion and its supremacy over later religions which owe a great deal to it corresponds to his tenable view that the human culture of the world[39] is, to a large extent, indebted to Egyptian culture, the influence of which is unlimited. This view was announced by Eliot in 1924 when he reviewed[40] The Origin of Magic and Religion (1923), and The Growth of Civilization (1924), both by the Egyptologist William James Perry who impressively argues that the ancient Egyptian civilization of the pre-dynastic or early dynastic age with its massive interest in agrarian life was assimilated by the early communities of the Ancient East ; and subsequently it spread all over the whole world.[41] This is more or less the view which Eliot unfalteringly held, for he not only acquiesces with Perry's that the culture of the world is indebted to Ancient Egypt,[42] but he was to suggest later in 1945 that "Even Ancient Greece owed much to Egypt."[43] This last statement of

Eliot is apparently a modern version of what the Greek historian Herodotus had to say more than two thousand years ago.[44]

We have seen that the main reason which induced Eliot to draw upon The Golden Ass is his belief that the pagan world of Apuleius, dominated mainly by the worship of Isis, contributed to the shaping of Christianity. Apuleius, in order to show that the Isis religion is superior to Christianity, deliberately makes the Goddess the only Deity who delivers him from his miseries. In addition, The Golden Ass contains many diatribes on Christianity which take the form of satirical allusions commonly recognized by critics. It is our concern now to discuss the critical appraisal of The Golden Ass as a satire on Judaeo-Christianity - before the discussion of the adaptation of the details borrowed from Apuleius' work - in order to show that Eliot's hidden source is entirely incompatible with this religion.

* * *

Perhaps the earliest criticism in this country which judged Apuleius as an opponent of Christianity is that of the eighteenth century Churchman, Bishop W. Warburton, who dragged the pagan writer by the heels into his The Divine Legation of Moses (1766). Warburton does not agree with those who dismiss The Golden Ass "as an idle farce".[45] He rightly suggests that the romance has a didactic aim behind it, and its author was one of the gravest and most virtuous, as well as the most learned philosopher of his age.[46] Its aim is not only, as some had supposed, a general satire on the vices of Apuleius' age,

but to recommend the pagan religion of Isis as the only cure for all the vices whatsoever.[47] Hence Apuleius was an inveterate enemy to Christianity, and in this sense he resembles the Platonists of his age who were opposed to Christianity,[48] which was given at that time the names of irreligion and atheism because it rejected the whole family of the pagan gods.[49] Warburton noted two satirical allusions to Christianity in The Golden Ass: first, Apuleius' violent attack on the baker's wife, a Christian who is portrayed as the most debased woman in the romance, "for no other reason than to outrage our holy faith. Having drawn her stained with all the vices that could deform a woman; to finish all, he makes her a Christian".[50] The other satirical allusion Warburton brings to our attention occurs in the fourth book of The Golden Ass where a showman entertained people by throwing "condemned persons" brought from the judgment place into the arena to fight with wild beasts.[51] By "condemned persons", Warburton suggests that it "apparently meant the condemned Christians".[52]

The Golden Ass as a satire on the Christianity of the second century, and a possible source of certain points in the New Testament are one of the topics treated by the French writer Daniel Massé.[53] Apart from the fact that Massé highlights the details of satire on Christianity, he meticulously outlines points of resemblance between The Golden Ass and the New Testament. To begin first with the discussion of the latter issue: Massé suggests that Apuleius' description of how stones, under the magical spells of Thessalian sorceresses have been turned into men,[54] a detail which resembles that in Matthew III:9, and Luke III:8: "I say unto you, that God is able of

these stones to raise up children unto Abraham."[55] The other point of contact concerns the detail of how trees, under the sway of magic, appear as if they are men,[56] a detail which recalls the Biblical one in Mark VIII:24: "I see men as trees walking."[57] In addition, Massé notes that Apuleius' animals rendering the omens which descend from heaven,[58] resemble the Apocalypse animals or angels who play the role of dragomans (Apoc. XI:15).[59] Finally the detail of seeing the water flowing from the fountain as if it is coming from human bodies[60] closely resembles St. John's "He that believes in me, as the Scripture has said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water" (VII:38).[61]

Daniel Massé goes further than source-hunting and the detection of the similarities between The Golden Ass and the New Testament, trying to bring to light the satire which Apuleius launches against Judaeo-Christianity. For example, he deduces from the disgusting description of Pamphile, the wife of Milo, Lucius' host, as a lewd magician who utilizes magic for satisfying her lust, that she is a Jewess.[62] The other detail which Massé singles out as evidence of Apuleius' satire on Christianity is that of the ass being unable, like his fanatic fellow Christians, to invoke the deified Caesar in order to deliver him from the bandits who overloaded him with their loot. Here is a satire, infers Massé, on the Christians who reject the apotheosis of Caesar in favour of that of Christ.[63] Thirdly Massé argues that the destruction of the fish which Lucius bought from a fraudulent fishmonger symbolizes "l'ecrasement du christianisme".[64] In effect Massé is convinced that Apuleius is so adverse to Christianity that he believed that the mysteries of Isis and not the religion of Christianity are "le reméde essentiellement moral" which reforms men and brings

them in conformity with human dignity.[65]

The ass itself into whose shape the lustful Lucius is transformed is meant to ridicule the Judaeo-Christians who were devout worshippers of this beast. For Massé, Lucius as an ass is "l'âne-chrétien";[66] and many passages, when closely examined, reveal "des intentions d'Apulée raillant le christianisme sous les espéces de l'Ane Juif ou Christ asinaire".[67] The Judaeo-Christians worshipped the ass apparently because of its connection with Balaam, with the rescue of the Jews from thirst, with its presence in the stable when Christ was born, with the carrying of Christ into Jerusalem etc.[68] That the ass was revered by Christians is evident from Tertullian, the Carthaginian Christian priest of the second century.[69] The Christians, Tertullian testifies in his Apology, worshipped an ass's head, and these worshippers, he called "asinarii".[70] According to a thirteenth century manuscript the Festival of the ass, held in the Church, was celebrated in many towns in France.[71]

Here should be mentioned one of Eliot's favourite writers, Giordano Bruno, whose story "Ass of Cyllene", like The Golden Ass of Apuleius, ridicules Christianity. Bruno, the unfrocked monk, was burnt at the stake on 16 February 1600 for his beliefs, as he was convinced that the wisdom and magic-born religion of ancient Egypt excelled the fanatic religion which put to death dissident thinkers as heretics. Also Bruno believed that the Bible is on a par with the Greek myths.[72] Eliot expressed deep interest in Bruno as early as 1916,[73] and 1919.[74] The technique Bruno adopts in "The Ass of Cyllene" which is a supplement to the Spaccio recalls that of Apuleius in The Golden Ass. Like

Lucius, Bruno's hero, Onario goes through the ordeal of the transformation into an ass whose ignorance is symbolic of the ignorance of the Church and Clergymen. The work is dedicated to a mythical person, the Bishop of Gasamarciano, an obscure little place in Italy.

To sum up our previous discussion: Eliot, in writing The Cocktail Party, drew upon The Golden Ass, a work which he had known since he was an undergraduate. The circumstances of drawing upon the work of Apuleius can be explained by the overt hints in the Alcestis of Euripides, his disclosed source, hints which suggested to his mind The Golden Ass. Eliot recognizes The Golden Ass as a work which raises doubt in Christianity as a revealed religion, as is evidenced by his view that Christianity is indebted to the world of Apuleius in which it was born, a view which is incompatible with the orthodox view of Christianity as a revealed religion. Hence his view of the close similarity between the litany of the Virgin Mary and the ancient prayers to Isis as is represented by Lucius' invocation of her. No wonder then that Eliot, in writing The Cocktail Party, borrowed from The Golden Ass, to which he owes a great deal. The following part of this chapter is concerned with the discussion of the transformation of the details which Eliot derives from The Golden Ass of Apuleius.

* * *

One of the most conspicuous details which The Golden Ass of Apuleius has inspired is that of eroticism, a motif which informs the whole of Eliot's play and imparts certain traits to the

major dramatis personae. In Apuleius this motif is mostly represented by Christians. "L'âne-chrètien", Lucius, the ass, is an incarnation of lewdness, for this beast is "notorious for its prodigious member",[75] a feature which is symbolic of Apuleius' own relapse into a life of mundane sensuality.[76] Since the ass was worshipped by Judaeo-Christians,[77] it becomes clear that Lucius' carnality is meant to be symbolic of that of the Judaeo-Christians of Apuleius' age. St. Augustine himself complains of how difficult it is to lead a life of chastity, praying that his soul might be "disentangled from the bird-lime of concupiscence".[78] The obnoxious portrayal of the baker's wife who is Christian as the most licentious wicked woman suggests Apuleius' intention to contrast the dissolute liberal life of the Christians with the chastity which was a requisite of the followers of Isis.[79] Clement of Alexandria (born c. A.D. 160), a Greek Father of the Church and a contemporary of Apuleius, condemns the loose morals and licentiousness of the participants in the Christian Agape, the brotherly love-feasts.[80]

To a similar extent, Eliot's licentious characters, especially Celia who is in the end induced to work as a missionary, are Christians. The Cocktail Party itself can be regarded as a type of agape in which sexual love was freely but illicitly practised among its members. The closest character to Lucius is Edward whose lustful attitude to and relation with Celia are prompted by the love-affair between Lucius and Fotis. To bring into a focus this type of influence, let us see first the particulars of the licentious relation between Lucius and Fotis.

The main cause of Lucius' transformation into an ass is his base carnality which potently attracted him to Fotis; for

had he not approached her, he would not have undergone the excruciating experience of the metamorphosis into an ass, the most lustful of all beasts. But no sooner did he take notice of her lascivous attitude to him than he determined to seduce her:

> now shake off thy childishnesse, and shew thy selfe a man ... when shee bringeth thee gently into thy chamber, and tenderly layeth thee downe in thy bed, and lovingly covereth thee and kisseth thee sweetly, and departeth unwillingly, and casteth her eyes oftentimes backe, and stands still, then hast thou a good occasion ministered unto thee to prove and try the minde of Fotis.[81]

Unfortunately Lucius tried the mind of Fotis and paid the cost, or in the words of Isis' priest: Lucius fell from grace because of his "folly of [his] youthfulness".[82] Finding her alone in the kitchen, preparing the dinner, Lucius flirts with her, using ribaldry which passionately stirs her. The night passes with Lucius and Fotis in one bed.[83] It is on another occasion like this one that Fotis discloses to her seducer the secret of her mistress, Pamphile, as a sorceress, a matter which highly appeals to Lucius' mentality, for he is curious to be instructed in magic.

Just as Fotis' sexual relationship with Lucius contributes to his transformation into an ass, so does Celia's illicit liaison with Edward, which turns him into an ass. He not only lost his human shape and identity, but he is no longer able to think rationally. His miserable condition is no less endurable than that of his classical counterpart, for he is ignominiously

reduced into a mere "object" without human sensation and feelings. Sir Henry Harcourt-Reilly's diagnosis of Edward's forlorn state of health demonstrates our point of discussion:

> There's a loss of personality;
> Or rather, you've lost touch with the person
> You thought you were. You no longer feel quite human.
> You're suddenly reduced to the status of an object -
> A living object, but no longer a person.[84]

In terms of this account, Edward, like Lucius, has lost his identity, and become a mere "object". He is "nothing but a set / Of obsolete responses."[85] Hence he, like Lucius the ass, cannot act on his own, for he is helpless. Just as Lucius turns to Isis for help, so Edward seeks her help through Sir Henry who, in the libation scene, appears to assume the role of her priest.[86] Edward's sexual relationship with Celia is the cause of his domestic troubles, for his wife, no longer able to endure such liaison,[87] suddenly left him. His passion for Celia, which may be termed "the ecstasy of the animals",[88] has exposed him to derision and scoffing just like his counterpart Lucius, who has been undergoing "les pires avanies", notes Massé, since his assumption of the asinine form,[89] brought upon him by Fotis. For in either case the adulterer and adulteress are so "drowned", to quote W. Adlington's view of lustful people, "in the sensuall lusts of the flesh, and the beastly pleasure thereof ... that we lose wholly the use of reason and vertue, which properly should be in man".[90] Edward, in an attempt to shake off his asinine state which his affair with Celia brought into existence, wonders what to do. Sir Henry reproachfully exhorts him to do nothing, but to wait. However Edward grows impatient because

his liaison with Celia has turned him into an ass, a humiliating situation which he came to apprehend as ridiculous:

> Unidentified Guest [Sir Henry]:
>
> ..... Who are you now?
> You don't know anymore than I do,
> But rather less. You are nothing but a set
> Of obsolete responses. The one thing to do
> Is to do nothing. Wait.
>
> Edward: Wait!
> But waiting is the one thing impossible.
> Besides, don't you see that it makes me
> ridiculous?
>
> U.G.: It will do you no harm to find yourself
> ridiculous.
> Resign yourself to be the fool you are.
> That's the best advice that I can give you.[91]

Sir Henry's advice here that Edward should wait is not without purpose. Edward's affair with Celia made him totally blind to the sanctity of conjugal love, and he therefore is "lost in the dark".[92] Edward, in order to avoid this ridiculous situation and achieve a serene marital life, should rid himself of concupiscence, or in other words that "animal propensity" which he feels towards Celia. So only when Edward severs his love relationship with Celia, does he cease to be a fool. This actually happens in the following scene where Edward rejects the lustful advances of Celia proving that he has already surpassed the stage of prurience and temerity: He reveals to Celia the state of feeling which overwhelmed him since his encounter with Sir Henry: that he met himself as a middle-aged man, feeling that he has "lost / The desire for all that was

most desirable."[93] To Celia's plea that he must assure her "that everything is right, / That you don't mean to have Lavinia back",[94] Edward makes it clear that their relationship should terminate:

> No, Celia,
> It has been very wonderful, and I'm very grateful
> And I think you are a very rare person.
> But it was too late. And I should have known
> That it wasn't fair to you.[95]

No wonder then that Edward, after he has purged away his asinine conduct and acquired his human shape, endeavours to poke fun at the asinine manner of Peter Quilpe who is in love with Celia, just as Sir Henry has earlier treated him (Edward):

> .....So you want to see Celia.
> I don't know why I should be taking all this trouble
> To protect you from the fool you are.[96]

To regain his human form after he refuses an illicit liaison with Celia, Edward strongly recalls Lucius. Lucius rejects the idea of sleeping in public with a condemned woman who killed her husband, for she wrongly suspected him of having connection with another woman. The murderess was condemned to be thrown alive to wild beasts, but she must first copulate with Lucius, the ass. Lucius, however, found it extremely difficult to perform this task, preferring to commit suicide rather than to defile himself and be exposed to everlasting shame by laying down with this wicked woman. So he fled to a secluded beach in Cenchreae. It was there where Isis intervened for his re-transformation and redemption only after he refused to copulate with the condemned woman.[97] In other words, Lucius, like

Edward, regains his human shape only after he has become chaste. Hence the didactic theme of The Golden Ass, as is conceived by W. Adlington that the romance touches the nature and manners of mortal men, "egging them forward from their Asinal forme, to their humane and perfect shape",[98] a theme which holds true of The Cocktail Party. Sir Henry's acidulous reproaches of Edward for his bawdy association with Celia is an obvious example of this morally didactic lesson.

The Fotis-Lucius kitchen affair[99] must have inspired the detail of Celia's intrusion into Edward's kitchen, at a time when nobody else was there to the extent that Edward fears to be suspected by anyone who might unexpectedly call upon him, of having an affair with Celia: "Suppose someone came and found you in the kitchen?"[100]

* * *

The failure of conjugal love in The Cocktail Party is a motif which has its analogue in The Golden Ass. Married women in the work of Apuleius are shown as sex-maniacs who are unfaithful to their husbands. They frequently resemble the baker's wife, who is the worst woman the ass has ever encountered for her lecherous and adulterous deeds. Apuleius' description of her as the most lewd woman, an incarnation of all the vices paves the way to his condemnation of her as the worshipper of the only God of the Judaeo-Christians:

> ... his [the baker's] wife was the most pestilent woman in all the world ... She had not one fault alone, but all the mischiefes that could be devised: she was crabbed, cruell, lascivious,

> drunken, obstinate, niggish, covetous, riotous in filthy expenses, and an enemy to faith and chastity, a despiser of all the Gods, whom others did honour, one that affirmed that she had a God by herself, whereby she deceived all men, but especially her poore husband, one that abandoned her body with continuall whoredome.[101]

In a similar manner, another lascivious woman used to betray her husband. When she was having an affair with her lover, her husband unexpectedly returned. The deceitful wife defrauds her husband by concealing her lover. Even the bride kidnapped by the bandits on her wedding-day is well disposed to whoredom. She is delighted to hear that she will be sold to brothels and bawdy merchants. In response, Lucius began to

> deeme evill of the generation of women, when as I saw the Maiden (who was appointed to be married to a young Gentleman, and who so greatly desired the same) was now delighted with the talke of a wicked brothel house, and other things dishonest.[102]

The husbands of Apuleius are no better than the wives. They are frequently caught in the act, as is evidenced by the tragic narrative of the bailiff who is sentenced to death on account of his adultery.[103] In effect, Apuleius' discontented attitude towards married people is made clearer by his pessimistic view that "marriages are not for any amity, or for love of procreation, but full of envy, discord and debate".[104]

The failure of marital love in The Cocktail Party is demonstrated by the relationship between Edward and Lavinia who

are married for five years with no children.[105] To play a variation on the theme of the failure of marital love, Eliot introduces a single man Peter Quilpe and an unmarried girl Celia Coplestone. Edward falls in love with Celia and Lavinia falls in love with Peter. Lavinia knows of the love-relation between her husband and Celia,[106] and it seems that she does not bother so long as she has Peter Quilpe as lover. However when Peter severs his love-relation with her and diverts his attention to Celia, Lavinia suffers a nervous breakdown, a state which Sir Henry describes as follows:

> But you failed to mention that the cause of your distress
> Was the defection of your lover - who suddenly
> For the first time in his life, fell in love with someone
> And with someone of whom you had reason to be jealous.[107]

The marriage, therefore, of Edward and Lavinia is not based on true love. They married because everyone kept saying they were in love with each other and how well-suited they were,[108] a detail which recalls that of the protagonist of "Portrait of a Lady" and her lover.[109] Their marriage is as loveless as the Monchensey's in The Family Reunion, and the unpromising future of their marital life is summed up by Sir Henry in a way which suggests to our mind Apuleius' view of marriage above mentioned:

> Two people who know they do not understand each other,
> Breeding children whom they do not understand
> And who will never understand them.[110]

The "human condition" to which they are reconciled by Sir Henry is characterized by dullness, treachery and vanity:

To send them back: what have they to go back to?
To the stale food mouldering in the larder,
The stale thoughts mouldering in their minds.
Each unable to disguise his own meanness
From himself, because it is known to the other.
It's not the knowledge of the mutual treachery
But the knowledge that the other understands the motive -
Mirror to mirror, reflecting vanity.[111]

That there is no real love between man and woman, but "the ecstasy of the animals" which momentarily draws them towards each other is what the play emphatically reveals. Eliot, like Nietzsche,[112] seems to suggest that it is the sexual passion rather than the genuine affection which forms the basis of marital life, and this explains the deterioration and failure of the relationship between husband and wife. What joined Edward and Lavinia at the very beginning is not love but the desire to copulate, for the husband is "incapable of loving", and the wife is "exceptionally unlovable".[113] In a similar manner, it is "the animal ecstasy" which recklessly attracts Peter to Celia as is evidenced by the ensuing exchanges between Peter and Edward in which the latter draws upon his personal experience, trying to convince Peter that there is no real love in his relation with Celia:

Peter: It is not her interest in <u>me</u> that I miss.
But these moments in which we seemed to share
some perception,
Some feeling, some indefinable experience
In which we were both unaware of ourselves.
In your terms, perhaps, she's lost interest
in me.

Edward/

Edward: That is all very normal. If you could only
know
How lucky you are. In a little while
This might have become an ordinary affair
Like any other. As the fever cooled
You would have found that she was another
woman
And that you were another man. I congratulate
you
On a timely escape.[114]

The original version of these exchanges between Edward and Peter adds a few lines, subsequently removed, in which Edward enlarges upon the "feverish" concupiscence between Peter and Celia:

You have been spared the coming to awareness
That the superficial is the substantial
And that nothing else is left you but the yearning
of the loins
As full of concupiscence as a weasel of eggs -
Fry, lechery, fry![115]

This original version suggests clearly that the relationship between man and woman, as Eliot envisages it, is purely sexual. It must have caused Eliot no less irritation than the passionate extravagance of the lovers in Wagner's Tristan und Isolde, which he saw in 1909.[116]

The failure of the relationship between man and woman indicates that love has lost its power and become an amusing fiction. It is also a theme which holds true of the fable of Cupid and Psyche in The Golden Ass, where the god takes a mortal girl (Psyche) as a passing entertainment: to copulate with her unseen in the night, satisfy his desire and leave her in solitude at daytime. Similarly the motif that love has lost its

power and become a mere entertainment is explained by the carnal love between Edward and Celia which is treated with repugnance, in the same way as the so-called love that connects men and women in Eliot's poetry:[117]

> Celia: .....
> ... I suppose that most women
> Would feel degraded to find that a man
> With whom they thought they had shared
> something wonderful
> Had taken them only as a passing diversion
> Oh, I dare say that you deceived yourself:
> But that's what it was, no doubt.[118]

The relationship of The Golden Ass to The Cocktail Party may be noted not only in the similarities between Lucius and Edward, and the correspondences between the two works with respect to certain motifs, such as the failure of conjugal love, but the title itself of Eliot's play seems to hint, like the title "The Golden Ass",[119] at an atmosphere of licentiousness. The original title of the play "One-Eyed Riley"[120] is initially conceived with a view to suggesting the concupiscence of its dramatis personae. The term "One-Eyed Riley" is in a song sung by Sir Henry Harcourt-Reilly:

> As I was drinkin' gin and water,
> And me bein' the One Eyed Riley,
> Who came in but the landlord's daughter
> And she took my heart entirely.[121]

Sir Henry sings this song in reaction to Julia's remark that her pair of glasses has only one lens,[122] a remark which is related to Sir Henry's song by the emphasis on the detail of the one-eyededness which has sexual implications. For people of

primitive thinking, the one-eyed person is regarded as an adulterer. The loss of an eye, notes Frazer, is thought by the Baganda tribes in Central Africa as the sign which marked an adulterer not only in this life but also in the world hereafter.[123] The term "One-Eyed Riley" in Sir Henry's song and the "one-lens" glasses of Julia appear, therefore, to be reflection on adultery. The implication is that Sir Henry Harcourt-Reilly is himself the "One-Eyed Riley", and the landlord's daughter who took his heart entirely is Mrs. Julia Shuttlethwaite, a married woman who is also one-eyed as is implied from her own one-lens spectacles. Hence the possible hint at the illicit liaison between them, which suggests the motif of adultery. No wonder then that Sir Henry, a psychiatrist as he is, assisted by Julia, who seems to be his mistress, deals with men and women who prefer promiscuous sexual intercourse to cohabitation. Edward prefers Celia to his wife, and Lavinia prefers Peter to her husband.

The title "The Cocktail Party" is perhaps as indicative of the licentiousness of its characters as the rejected "One-Eyed Riley". Eliot knew the parties and the debauchery which they give rise to. In his early life he was keen on parties and dancing as Conrad Aiken witnesses.[124] but he came to dislike intensely the cocktail parties[125] that serve cocktail drinks which in The Family Reunion are held responsible for debauching the young ;[126]

> Violet : They(people) bathe all day and they dance
> all night
> In the absolute minimum of clothes.

Charles/

Charles: It's the cocktail-drinking does the harm:
There's nothing on earth so bad for the
young.
.....
The modern young people don't know what
they're drinking,
They've lost their sense of taste and smell
Because of their cocktails and cigarettes.[127]

The Cocktail Party therefore must have been regarded by Eliot as the means by which one's lust is illicitly satisfied. Peter Quilpe confesses that he fell in love with Mrs. Chamberlaynes in one of her Thursday parties where she "was awfully kind to me / And I owe her a great deal."[128] It was also in one of the parties held by Lavinia where Peter, just like Edward, fell in love with Celia:

Peter: You asked me how I came to know Celia.
I met her here, about a year ago.
Edward: At one of Lavinia's amateur Thursdays?
Peter: A Thursday.[129]

Peter defiles the wife of his host, Lavinia, and abuses his friendship, a disgraceful deed which makes him appear as the foil of Lucius who refused to respond to the seductive allurement of his host's wife, the nymphomaniac sorceress: "O Lucius now take heed, be vigilant ... temper thyself from the love of thyne hostesse, and abstain from violation of the bed of Milo."[130] There is no point of comparison between Lucius and Peter in this: the one is scrupulously faithful to his host; the other unscrupulously treacherous. In short Eliot's The Cocktail Party presents to us debased people whose "animal ecstasy" heedlessly goads them to violate the moral conduct and

principles. In so doing they recall not only Apuleius' lewd people but also the lustful persons of Dante in Canto XXVI of "Purgatory", Eliot's favourite Canto;[131] "Because the law of human kind we broke, / Following like beasts our vile concupiscence."[132]

Such types of party in which cocktails are served bring to light not only the mundane sensuality of its participants but their frivolous, idle talking, for they are - to borrow a figure of speech from Apuleius - "in the habit of letting out the venom of their viperous tongues to give pain to others."[133] Examples of the persons whose "viperous tongues" backbite the others are not wanting in our contemporary Cocktail Party. Julia indulges herself in filthy scurrilities, such as her scandalous remarks on Lady Klootz,[134] and Delia Verinder.[135] The debased cocktail parties which reveal the treachery of the urban married people who hold them contrast with the midnight bonfire dancing parties of "East Coker" which suggest the sanctity of the nuptial bond and concord between the rural men and women.[136]

* * *

So far, we have seen that likely influence of The Golden Ass on The Cocktail Party with respect to the motif on concupiscence. Like Lucius, Edward lost his identity because of his illicit liaison with his beloved. Like Lucius, too, Edward cannot regain his human integrity unless he attains a high degree of chastity, which he does by renouncing his relation with Celia. In this respect, he closely resembles Lucius whose rejection of the idea of copulating with a condemned

wicked wife contributed to the obliteration of his asinine quality and the restoration of his human character.

* * *

Celia's death near an ant-hill is a detail for which Eliot went to The Golden Ass of Apuleius. In this work, a married bailiff, with children, committed adultery with another woman. Having heard of her husband's treason, the wife went mad, and murdered herself and the children as well. To inflict the severest retribution on him, the master of the house smeared his body with honey, bound him to a tree where a large number of ants built their nests. Having smelt the sweetness of the honey, the ants rushed to the body which they devour, leaving nothing but the skeleton.[137]

Celia, for Eliot, deserves the same retributive death which befell the bailiff. It is true that her illicit affair with Edward has not resulted in the death of anyone. But in forcing herself upon Edward whom she prefers to Peter Quilpe, the single man, she certainly endangers his marital life. She is so passionately attached to Edward that she rejoices in the desertion of Edward by Lavinia. She expects that Edward will rejoice too and devote himself solely to her:

> And it came to me that Lavinia had left you
> And that you would be free - then I suddenly discovered
> That the dream was not enough; that I wanted
> something more.[138]

But Edward disappoints her, urging her to abandon him, for he is not the right man for her:

> ..... But this can't go on
> .....
> You should have a man ... nearer your own age.[139]

Thus Celia's disappointment as a consequence of Edward's rejection of her seductive advances makes her despair so much that she, at the instigation of Sir Henry decides to risk her life, goes to Africa on a suicidal mission in order to help a handful of "plague-stricken natives / Who would have died anyway."[140] But the insurrection between the heathens and the Christians broke out, and Celia, reports Alexander Gibbs, was taken by the heathen natives, who murdered her in the same way the master did the bailiff:

> ... from what we know of local practices
> It would seem that she must have been crucified
> Very near an ant-hill.[141]

The original version of Celia's death confirms the fact that Eliot drew upon Apuleius with respect to the method of torture by which Celia met her violent death. Like Apuleius' bailiff, Celia is killed

> Very near an ant-hill. They smear the victims
> With a juice that is attractive to the ants.[142]

In this respect Celia indubitably has undergone a horrifyingly anguished experience to the extent that - to speak in terms of "Burnt Norton" nothing "protects [her] from ... damnation / Which flesh cannot endure."[143] The detail of Celia's violent death, especially the smearing of her body "With a juice that is attractive to the ants" provoked a strong reaction from the original audience. The director of the opening performance of

the play, Martin Browne, wrote to Eliot after its staging at the Edinburgh Festival (1949): "JUICE ATTRACTIVE TO ANTS ... has, as I prophesied, caused a great reaction of strong distaste. Do you mind? I imagine you don't, but thought I should mention it."[144] The consequence of the audience's distaste for the original version of Celia's death was Eliot's revision of it in the form which stands now in the printed text. In other words, the Apuleian offensive detail of smearing the body with honey is discreetly expurgated. Nevertheless the detail of Celia's death "very near an ant-hill" is unmistakably Apuleian because of the overt allusion to the ants and their connection with the murder of the unscrupulous adulterer. As a fornicator who endangers the marital life of Edward, Celia's violent death does not suggest martyrdom, as some may gather from "she must have been crucified".[145] Her "dripping blood", to speak in terms of the diction of "East Coker",[146] is not our "drink", nor is her "bloody flesh" our "food", but they are the drink and the food of the avenging ants. Ironically ants, unlike human beings, are the most co-operatively organized creatures who work actively in an atmosphere of both harmony and affection. This is contrary to the ennui that characterizes the life of Celia and her like , as she does not find "anything to work for and therefore she cannot "lead an active life".[147]

* * *

Celia, being disappointed because of her rejection by Edward, chose this mission which contributed to her death. Meanwhile it is implied that she could have avoided this

terrible end, had she believed in Isis. For Isis, says her priest in The Golden Ass has

> power to damne and save all persons, and if any were at the point of death, and in the way to damnation, so that he were capable to receive the secrets of the goddesse, it was in her power by divine providence to reduce him to the path of health, as by a certaine kind of regeneration.[148]

The implication that Celia could have eschewed the violent death if she believed in Isis, is understood in terms of her interview with Sir Henry. Celia, confides to Sir Henry that she repines at her loneliness. She cannot communicate with any one after her experience with Edward. So she feels that "Everyone's alone."[149] The more she remembers her loneliness, the more agony she feels: The "hell I have been in", she confesses to Sir Henry, is aroused by her "desolation of solitude in the phantasmal world / Of imagination, shuffling memories and desire."[150] Without Edward Celia felt so low-spirited that she, like the protagonist of "Portrait of a Lady" has looked upon life as "cauchemar".[151] She loathes life so much that she comes to realize that the world in which she lives "seems all a delusion!",[152] and therefore she thinks that it no longer appears "worth while to speak to anyone!"[153] She seems to recall the protagonist of "East Coker" to whom "neither gain nor loss matters".[154] Hence she must have regarded suicide, to speak in terms of Jacques Maritain's philosophy of suicide, as the only reasonable way of escape.[155]

It is this feeling of loneliness which forced her to see Sir Henry who directed her to her mission which led to her

death. Had Celia believed in Isis, the "Lady of Silences" and "meditation", as does the protagonist of Ash Wednesday (1930), she could have overpowered the feeling of solitude, and therefore would not have needed to consult Sir Henry. For Isis' devotees never experience this inexorable ailment of solitude. They are always in the habit of meditation in silence, a habit which not only protects them from the affliction of loneliness and ennui, but it brings them unlimited beatitude and content. Eliot has clearly expressed this in Ash Wednesday in which the meditation in silence and the invocation of Isis brings the distressed protagonists endless exultation and relief: Because the Virgin is honoured "in meditation / We shine with brightness."[156] That the Virgin here, the object of meditation is meant to be Isis can be deduced not only from the fact of her being undefiled as no mortal man has ever lifted her mantle,[157] but from the allusion to her unique trait of silence represented by her emblem the rose:

> Lady of silences
> .....
> The Single Rose
> Is now the Garden
> Where all loves end
> Terminate torment
> Of love unsatisfied.[158]

Viewed in this perspective Celia could have managed through the intervention of Isis, to "Terminate torment / Of love unsatisfied", had she worshipped in meditation the Goddess, "the Lady of silences". Isis' initiated votaries were required to worship her in meditation, and the rose, the emblem of Isis, subsequently assigned to the Virgin Mary,[159] symbolized for

these votaries silence in meditation, a ritual which is discussed by W. Warburton in terms of the initiation of Lucius. The rose, as a symbol of silence in one's meditation, by which Lucius regains his human form was not of Apuleius' invention as Warburton rightly says. For the rose was regarded by the ancients as a symbol of silence, the requisite quality of those initiated into Isis; and the statues of Isis were therefore crowned with chaplets of roses.[160]

That Celia could have been saved, had she believed in Isis is also made clear in view of the original version of her death, in which the heathens, worshippers of Isis, bring to Celia's shrine, meant to be symbolic of the Goddess, the offerings, originally made in honour of Isis. In other words, had Celia initiated herself into Isis, she would not have been killed by native heathens, the followers of Isis. Here is the original version, as incorporated in the acting script of the play which was performed in the Edinburgh Festival, but expurgated from the printed text:

> Alex: There's one detail which is rather interesting
> And rather touching, too. We found that the natives,
> After we'd reoccupied the village,
> Had erected a sort of shrine for Celia
> Where they brought offerings of fruit and flowers,
> .....
> Fowls, and even sucking pigs
> .....
> We left that problem for the Bishop to wrestle with.
>
> Reilly: Yes, the Bishop's problem is certainly a detail.[161]

Fruit and sucking pigs, as Frazer explains, were offerings made

only in honour of Isis. An image of Osiris decked with all the fruits of the earth, stood in a temple before a figure of Isis.[162] As for the sucking pigs, the Egyptians, adds Frazer, sacrificed them, once a year, to Isis and Osiris, and not only sacrificed them, but ate of their flesh, though on any other day of the year they would neither sacrifice them nor taste of their flesh.'[163]

* * *

In the story told by Alexander Gibb of the sectarian struggle between the heathens and the Christians, one can detect the reflection on the Christian converts as the cause of agitation and unrest. The cause of the problem is the provocative deed of slaughtering the monkeys by the Christians, a deed which enraged the majority of the natives who "hold these monkeys in peculiar veneration / And do not want them killed."[164] However the Christian converts insist on killing the monkeys and eating them, apparently supported in so doing by Alexander himself to whom the young monkeys are extremely palatable for he has "cooked them ... and invented for the natives several new recipes".[165] On the other hand, the heathens are convinced that the slaughtering of the monkeys put a curse on them. In order to avenge the violation of the object of their worship, they in return slaughter the Christians and eat them.[166] As is apparent from the story told by Alex, it seems obvious that it is the Christians who first stirred the agitation by destroying the animals of the heathens.

In view of Alex's story of the conflict between the heathens and the Christians, as well as of Celia's murder one

can deduce too the implication that Alex, and his two co-partners Sir Henry and Julia belong to a secret organization which is opposed to Christians. From Alex's account of the cause of the friction between the native pagans and the Christian converts, it seems that it is Alex and his like who incited the Christians to slaughter and eat the heathens' revered animals. He encourages the Christians to do so by inventing new recipes for them, an activity which exasperates the heathens to the extent that they murder the destroyers of the revered animal. Hence Alex is held responsible for the murder of the Christian converts in Africa, and their helpmeets, such as Celia, just as Sir Henry is held responsible for directing her to the whereabout of his co-partner in Africa. The consequence is that while the Christians diminish in number, the heathens increase:

> Edward: And meanwhile?
> Alex: Meanwhile the monkeys multiply.
> Lavinia: And the Christians.[167]

At this moment, Alex instead of saying that the Christians decrease in number, he refers to it by implication in his remark on the murder of Celia in a fictional village in Kinkanja in Africa, a precarious place of sectarian friction into which she was deliberately sent by Sir Henry, apparently at the discretion of Alex.[168]

> Alex: Ah, the Christians! Now, I think I ought to tell you
> About someone you know - or knew ...
> Julia: Somebody must have walked over my grave.[169]

Like Alex, Sir Henry reveals antagonistic feeling towards the Christians as is exemplified by his attitude to Celia. On hearing the news of Celia's murder, Sir Henry showed no sympathetic feeling towards her, nor was he surprised by the horror of her death, but his "expression was one of ... satisfaction",[170] a state of feeling which Lavinia noticed by observing Sir Henry's face, and she therefore has forced him to "a showdown".[171] In brief, Sir Henry is delighted to have Celia, the missionary, killed by the heathens. Hence he, like Alex, clandestinely works against Christians.

The triad Sir Henry, Alex and Julia are originally called "daemons" according to the original version which may suggest that these people are anti-Christians, if the term "daemon" signifies "evil spirit".[172] The term "daemon" is used in the original version of scene ii, Act I, where Edward and Celia drink to Sir Henry, Alex and Julia whom they call the "Guardians" in the printed text:[173]

> Celia: What should we drink to?
> Edward: Whom shall we drink to?
> Celia: To the daemons.
> Edward: To the daemons?
> Celia: To the daemons. It was you who spoke of daemons
> It may be that even Julia is a daemon.
> Perhaps she is my daemon ...[174]

The "daemon" appears to be used here as a higher being who bestows special power and protection upon the individual, as is apparent from the note of regret expressed by the Edward of the original version that he has no "daemon", and he therefore regards himself as mediocre: "the real, the tougher self ... who in some men may be the daemon, the genius, / And in others,

like myself, the dull, the implacable, / The indomitable spirit of mediocrity."[175] In other words, the term "daemon" is used in the original version to mean guardian, as is shown in the toast scene between Edward and Celia. In this respect one might suggest that Eliot drew upon "The God of Socrates" by Apuleius in which the word "daemon" assumes the meaning of guardianship. The daemon takes the place of God and it is one's special deity who is always the overseer of one's conduct,[176] and the guardianship of life is allotted to him:

> He [the daemon] of whom I speak is entirely our guardian, our individual keeper, our watcher at home, our own proper regulator, a searcher into inmost fibres, our constant observer, our inseparable witness, a reprover of our evil actions, an approver of our good ones; if he is becomingly attended to, sedulously examined and devoutly worshipped, in the way in which he was worshipped by Socrates in justice and in innocence; he is our forerunner in uncertainty, our monitor in matter of doubt, our defender in danger, and our assistant in heed. He is able also by dreams, and by tokens, and perhaps even openly ... to avert from you evil, ... to aid you when depressed ... and modify your adversity.[177]

In Apuleius' commentary upon the daemon of Socrates, there is much which explains the invocation of the daemons by the Edward and the Celia of the original version. They both transgressed by committing adultery at a time when they were heedless of daemons, who could have forewarned them. It is too late now to invoke them. It is ironical that Celia invokes the guardianship of Julia, who in co-operation with Sir Henry, the devil, as he is frequently called,[178] and Alex, sends her to her retributive murder.

As anti-Christians, the Guardians, like Apuleius' Lucius, do not invoke any of the Judaeo-Christian triad, or the Virgin Mary. I think they invoke her forerunner the pre-Christian Isis when they pray on behalf of the Chamberlaynes and Celia. If so the invocation of Isis by the Guardians was probably prompted by the invocation of Isis by Lucius. Eliot has expressed so much interest in the invocation of Isis by Lucius that he believed, like some other writers, that the litany of the Virgin Mary was inspired by the prayers to Isis, such as Lucius'. For Eliot believes that the world of Apuleius in which the religion of Isis dominated, "was also the world in which Christianity and the Church were being incubated".[179] As the moon-goddess of chastity, conjugal love and the embodiment of wifely fidelity, Isis is the right deity to invoke for influencing the bed of the Chamberlaynes. The libation scene in which the invocation of Isis by the Guardians occurs brings to an end Sir Henry's interviews in which he reconciles Edward and Lavinia to "the human condition", and sends Celia to her death in Africa:

> Julia: Everything is in order.
> Alex: The Chamberlaynes have chosen?
> Reilly: They accept their destiny
> .....
> Alex: And she [Celia] has made the choice?
> Reilly: She will be fetched this evening.
> [Nurse-Secretary enters with a tray, a decanter and three glasses, and exit. Reilly pours drinks.]
> And now we are ready to proceed to the libation.
> Alex: The words for the building of the hearth.
> [They raise their glesses.]
> Reilly: Let them build the hearth
> Under the protection of the stars.

Alex: Let them place a chair each side of it.
Julia: May the holy ones watch over the roof
May the moon herself influence the bed
[they drink]
Alex: The words for those who go upon a journey
Reilly: Protector of travellers
Bless the road.[180]

So in this libation scene the Guardians pray for their patients: first for the Chamberlaynes, and second for Celia. The problem of the Chamberlaynes is the lack of love between them which underlies the tendency of each to violate the nuptial tie and run the risk of being treacherous to each other. Hence what they require is not only love of each other but chastity. The only deity to help them achieve this dual objective, as the Guardians seem to realize, is Isis. The Guardians invoke Isis under the name of the moon: "May the moon herself influence the bed [of the Chamberlaynes]." That Isis is identified with the moon is apparent from the purification scene which precedes Lucius' invocation of the Goddess in her aspect as the moon:

> When midnight came that I slept my first sleep, I awaked with suddaine feare, and saw the Moone shining bright, as when shee is at the full, and seeming as though shee leaped out of the sea. Then thought I with myselfe, that that was the most secret time, when the goddesse had most puissance and force, considering that all humane things be governed by her providence ... as weary of all my cruell fortune and calamity, I found good hope and soveraigne remedy, ... to be delivered from all my misery, by invocation and prayer, to the excellent beauty of the Goddesse, whom I saw shining before mine eyes, wherefore shaking off mine Assie and drowsie sleepe, I

> arose with a joyfull face, and moved by a great affection to purifie myselfe, I plunged myselfe seven times into the water of the Sea.[181]

This passage leaves no doubt that the moon impersonates Isis; and only when the moon shines does the Goddess assume great influence and power with respect to the assistance of her devotees. The moon herself, urges Frazer, who draws upon Diodorus Siculus, was worshipped as Isis, just as the sun was worshipped as Osiris, by the original inhabitants of Egypt, for the sun and the moon were regarded as two gods, eternal and primaeval, who struck them with awe and wonder at the nature of the universe.[182] Plutarch, too, recounts that the Egyptians affirm that Isis is none other than the moon; hence the explanation that her statues bear horns which are imitations of the crescent moon.[183] Viewed in this perspective, it seems obvious that Isis is identified with the moon. When the Guardians therefore invoke the moon in order to influence the bed of the Chamberlaynes and induce them to love each other, they mean the Goddess Isis. To supplicate the Goddess Isis for the help of the Chamberlayne in this respect is not without purpose. Isis is the Goddess of chastity and the representative of wifely fidelity. Lucius was hesitant to have himself initiated into the mysteries of Isis because of the intolerable chastity of her priests and their frail life.[184] According to hymnological prayers in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the second century A.D. maidens are said to have devoted themselves to Isis, their guardian of virginity.[185] In Xenophon's Isiac romance, Ephesiaca, the heroine Anthia, whose father dedicated her to Isis until her wedding sets out for Egypt where she arrives in the temple of Isis at Memphis. There she offers

thanksgiving to Isis, as the Goddess who has kept her pure, and for helping her keep her marriage free from defilement.[186] Isis' statues, recounts Plutarch, bore the inscription which indicates her chastity: "I am all that has been and is and will be; and no mortal has ever lifted my mantle."[187] Also Isis had the reputation for wifely fidelity, which is based upon the well-known story of bewailing the murder of her husband by Set and her persistent hazardous search for his corpse everywhere.[188] In this respect, the invocation of Isis by the Guardians in order to influence the bed of the Chamberlaynes has a double-edged end: first to help the couple rid themselves of concupiscence and achieve continence; and second to love each other, a task which no other power except Isis can perform.

* * *

Apart from the invocation of Isis for the reconciliation of the Chamberlaynes with respect to inducing love and chastity in them, the original version of the libation scene incorporates an invocation, subsequently omitted, of the seven spirits of Horus, the son of Isis, turned by Christianity into the seven stars which surround Christ, the counterpart of Horus:

> Alex: Under what sign shall it [the house of the Chamberlaynes] be erected?
>
> Julia & Reilly: Under the sign of the seven stars.[189]

The final version substitutes "under the protection of the stars",[190] for "under the sign of the seven stars", a change which still reains traces of the original version. the Judaeo-Christian seven stars are originally the seven great spirits of

Horus, termed his seshu, or his servants. According to Hebrew prophecy the seven spirits which were to attend Jesus are: the spirit of the Lord; the spirit of wisdom; the spirit of understanding; the spirit of counsel; the spirit of might; the spirit of knowledge; and the spirit of the fear of the Lord (Isaiah XI:1-2). These spirits, originally Egyptian, were the seven elemental powers who afterwards became the Khuti as the seven great spirits. But in their Hebrew guise they are transformed into the seven stars with Jesus in the midst.[191]

* * *

Just as the Guardians invoke Isis for the intervention on behalf of the Chamberlaynes, so they supplicate her for the protection of Celia on her way from London to Africa: "The words for those who go upon a journey" is first announced by Alex, an announcement to which Sir Henry immediately responds, invoking for the second time the moon - Isis, in her capacity as "Protector of the travellers / Bless the road."[192] For Celia's journey is a terrifying, lonely one,[193] as she is going to travel "between the scolding hills, / Through the valley of derision."[194] Hence she badly requires a protector who has to ease the perilous road for her. Naturally this protector is the moon who accompanies her and lights the way during her nocturnal peregrination. That Eliot regarded the moon as a great aid for distraught travellers is evidenced by his portrayal of it in "Conversation Galante" as

> an old battered lantern hung aloft
> To light poor travellers to their distress.[195]

The depiction of the moon by Eliot as guide and protector of travellers is Laforguian. Laforgue, the French poet, has devoted space to the lunar speculations, as he seemed to have been fascinated by the natural scenery of the moon and the role she plays in helping travellers during the night:

> Lune heureuse? ainsi tu vois,
> A cette heure, le convoi
> De son voyage de noce!
> Il sont partis pour l'Ecosse.[196]

To sum up the last part of our discussion: The details which we have discussed in comparison with their parallels in The Golden Ass point to one conclusion: Isis as the pre-Christian deity and the forerunner of the Virgin Mary, is the right deity to invoke, as Eliot, like Apuleius before him, seems to urge, for intervention on behalf of wretched people whose lewdness and impure life brought upon them damnation. The libation scene in which Isis is supplicated on behalf of Edward and Lavinia is indicative of the inefficency of psychiatric therapy. Nothing but the intervention of the Goddess could heal marital wounds and animate married people with conjugal love and sexual fertility. Celia could have saved herself had she believed in Isis, and devoted herself to the contemplation of the Goddess in silence. Nevertheless, Isis the moon has protected her on her journey which is no less terrifying than her violent death.

Notes

1. T. S. Eliot, "Poetry and Drama" (1951) in On Poetry and Poets, p. 85.

2. Robert B. Heilman, "Alcestis and The Cocktail Party" in Twentieth Century Interpretations of Euripides' Alcestis: A Collection of Critical Essays, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1968, p. 92.

3. Daniel Massé, Les Origines du Christianisme et L'Enigme de Jésus-Christ: L'Apocalypse et le Royaume de Dieu, Les Editions du Sphinx, Paris, 1934, p. 316 n.1.

4. For this approximate date of composition, see Ibid, p. 327.

5. It has been generally recognized that Lucius, the hero of The Golden Ass, is Apuleius himself. George Head, for example, is one of those who supports this view, relying on an apparently inadvertent remark in Book XI, respecting the initiation into the mysteries of Isis: "I found that, as well as myself, had been warned in a dream, and had received the necessary instructions relative to the coming ceremonial." George Head, ed. The Golden Ass of Apuleius, Longmans, London, 1851, p. 407.

6. Not to be hospitable is often shown to be the cause of destruction in ancient Greece. Gortyna in Crete is destroyed by Apollo for the miserliness of its people. The other example is mentioned by Ovid who states that an old Phrygian pair, Philemon and Baucis, hospitably entertained Zeus, who spared them the catastrophe he inflicted on their surly neighbour (see Robert Graves, Hebrew Myths, p. 169). Socrates is reputed as having said in Plato's Dialogue Crito that the Thessalians were more anxious about a well-laid table than a well-ordered life. Quoted in O. Schrader, "Hospitality" in Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, 6, p. 811, col. 2.

7. The Golden Age, pp. 22-32. References to Apuleius' work are from William Adlington's translated edition (David Nutt, London, 1893).

8. The Golden Ass, pp. 211-12.

9. The Golden Ass, pp. 57-8.

10. The Golden Ass, pp. 55-6.

11. Herbert Howarth, Notes on Some Figures Behind T. S. Eliot, Chatto & Windus, London, 1965, pp. 70-71.

12. T. S. Eliot, "American Literature and the American Language", To Criticize the Critic, pp. 44-5.

13. Ibid, p. 45.

14. Ibid, p. 56

15. T. S. Eliot, "The Golden Ass of Apuleius" Dial, LXXXV, September 1928, pp. 256-7. The world of Apuleius was potently dominated by the worship of Isis and her son Horus, which, according to Flinders Petrie continued until long after Constantine (c. 274-337 A.D.) when the two deities were taken over by Christianity, about the time of Theodosius whose decree in A.D. 378, asking full acceptance of Christianity, gave the death-blow to paganism (see W. M. Flinders Petrie, op. cit., p. 60). The cult of Isis and her temple companions was considered by the Christians the obviously inimical to the Church. This was the case even before the death-blow which paganism received from Theodosius. For Eusebius makes mention of the Egyptian faith and declares (somewhat mistakenly) that by his day the land of the Nile had been "freed from the disease" (see R. E. Witt, Isis in the Graeco-Roman World, Thames & Hudson, London, 1971, p. 270).

16. T. S. Eliot, "The Golden Ass of Apuleius", The Dial, p. 256.

17. T. S. Eliot, "The Golden Ass of Apuleius", Ibid.

18. Alfred Loisy, Les mystères paiens et les mystères chrétiens, Emile Nourry, Paris, 1914, p. 146.

19. The Transformation of Lucius, otherwise known as the Golden Ass, translated by Robert Graves, Penguin Books, London, 1969, p. 21.

20. See R. E. Witt, op. cit., p. 272.

21. Ibid

22. Ibid, pp. 272-3.

23. To mention only those in whose works Eliot was instructed, for there are several authors who wrote at length about the influence of the religion of the Egyptian triad, Isis, Osiris and Horus upon the triad of Judeo-Christianity. One of these is Gerald Massey. He argues that the Horus legend has strong bearing on the Christ legend with respect to the birth, death and resurrection; the forty days of fasting and repentance (Lent); the Jewish Sabbath of Saturday; and the Christian Sabbath sacred to the sun and the Corpus Christi. In fact Massey in depth examines the Jesus legend in terms of the actual mythology of the Horus legend. He traces the legend of the cross as far back as the cult of Ptah at Memphis, where the religion of the cross originated; and to Anna or On, where it was continued in the cult of Atum - Ra with IU-em-hetep as the Egyptian Jesus. (Ancient Egypt, the Light of the World, II, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1907, pp. 744-9, 751, 757).

24. The Golden Bough, Adonis Attis Osiris, II, 159.

25. Examples are John VI:40, 48, 51; VIII: 12, 43; IX:5; X: 7, 9-11, 30; XI: 25. See Alfred Loisy, Les mystères païens et les mystère chrétien, p. 124.

26. Ibid, pp. 289-290.

27. Poems and Plays, p. 189.

28. See Supra, p. 285.

29. The Golden Ass, p. 233.

30. Ibid, p. 232.

31. Ibid, p. 234.

32, Poems and Plays, p. 63.

33. Diodorus of Sicily, translated by C. H. Oldfather, I, William Heinemann, London, 1933, pp. 295, 297.

34. Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, edited by J. G. Griffiths, University of Wales Press, 1970, p. 141.

35. See Eliot's Notes on The Wasteland in Poems and Plays, p. 76.

36. Poems and Plays, p. 63.

37. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris, II, p. 159.

38. J. G. Frazer, Ibid, II, 87-8.

39. Note that the term "culture", according to Eliot, includes among other things religion (T. S. Eliot, Notes towards the Definition of Culture, p. 33).

40. In The Criterion, II (July 1924), 489.

41. In this respect, Perry writes: "All the known evidence goes to show that the other early communities of the civilization of the Ancient East derived their culture, directly or indirectly, from Egypt of the pre-dynastic or early dynastic age. It is impossible to produce any solid body of evidence to show that any other community had influenced the culture of Egypt in these times to any appreciable extent. The hypothesis that best fits the facts is that the Egyptians, having learnt the craft of irrigation, and having come to need such materials as copper, emery and so forth for their industries, began to send out expeditions to get these materials to Elam, Turkestan, the Aegean and elsewhere, and thus in time caused their civilization to be transplanted to new homes". The Origin of Magic and Religion, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1923, p. 26.

42. The Criterion, II (October 1923-July 1924), 489.

43. "The Social Function of Poetry", in On Poetry and Poets, p. 23.

44. The History of Herodotus, translated by George Rawlinson, I, p. 143.

45. W. Warburton, The Divine Legation of Moses, I, A. Miller, London, 1766, 359.

46. Ibid., p. 358.

47. Ibid., p. 359.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., p. 363.

50. Ibid., pp. 365-66.

51. The Golden Ass, p. 90.

52. W. Warburton, op. cit., I, 366.

53. The Church, writes Masse, maintains that the Gospels had already appeared by the first century. However in reality none of the New Testament, except the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel, existed at that time. The Church, on the other hand, claimed that in the first century A.D. Christianity had already four or five centuries of development behind it, and therefore the Church could not accept any writing which tended to show that in the second century A.D. there was nothing of Christian writings except the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel (Daniel Masse, op., cit., pp. 350-51).

54. The Golden Ass, p. 41.

55. Daniel Masse, op. cit., p. 340.

56. The Golden Ass, p. 41.

57. Daniel Masse, op. cit., p. 340.

58. The Golden Ass, pp. 40-41.

59. Daniel Masse, op. cit., p. 341.

60. The Golden Ass, p. 41.

61. Daniel Masse, op. cit., pp. 340-41.

62. "Vieille femme magicienne, qui 'peut precipiter les astres, metamorphoser les gens en beliers, agneau etc'...vous reconnaissez evidemment en Pamphile une Juive."(D.Masse,op.cit.,pp.341-2

63. Daniel Masse, op. cit., p. 344.

64. Daniel Masse, op. cit., p. 353.

65. Daniel Masse, op. cit., p. 343.

66. Daniel Masse, op. cit., p. 344.

67. Daniel Masse, op. cit., p. 344.

68. Daniel Masse, op. cit., pp. 304-7.

69. Eliot is of opinion that Tertullian "is not wholly orthodox" (Selected Essays, p. 422).

70. Quoted in J. Gwyn Griffiths, The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI) E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1975, p. 5.

71. See E. H. Haight, Apuleius and His Influence, George Harrap, London, 1927, pp. 108-9.

72. R. E. Witt, op. cit., p. 269.

73. That is to say when he reviewed William Boulting's book Giordano Bruno: His Life, Thoughts and Martyrdom" in New Statesman, VIII. 185 (21 Oct 1916) 68.

74. In 1919 Eliot reviewed L'ethique de Giordano Bruno et le deuxième dialogue du Spaccio, traduction avec notes par J. Roger Charbonnel in Athenaeum, 4667 (10 Oct 1919) 1014-1015.

75. P. G. Walsh, "Lucius Madaurensis" Phoenix, 22 (1968), 146.

76. Ibid

77. See Supra, p. 293.

78. The Confessions of St Augustine, translated by E. B. Pusey, J. M. Dent, London, 1932, p. 230.

79. See Infra, pp. 321-22.

80. A. J. Maclean, "Agape", Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, I, p. 170, col. 2.

81. The Golden Ass, pp. 44-5.

82. The Golden Ass, p. 238.

83. The Golden Ass, pp. 45-47, 51.

84. I.i. p. 362.

85. I.i. p. 363.

86. See Infra, p.319.

87. II. p. 407

88. The term is Eliot's in "Marina": "Those who suffer the ecstasy of the animals, meaning/Death", (Poems & Plays, p. 109).

89. D. Massé, op. cit., pp. 342-3.

90. The Golden Ass, p. 8.

91. I.i. p. 363

92. I.i. p. 364.

93. I.ii. p. 381.

94. I.ii. p. 379.

95. I.ii. p. 379.

96. I.i. p. 371.

97. The Golden Ass, pp. 219-233.

98. The Golden Ass, p. 9.

99. See Supra, p.296.

100. I.ii. pp. 375-6.

101. The Golden Ass, pp. 186-7.

102. Ibid, p. 143

103. See Infra, p.309.

104. The Golden Ass, p. 116.

105. I.i. p. 360.

106. Lavinia reproaches her husband for trying to conceal his relation with Celia: "Really, Edward/Even if I'd been blind/There were plenty of people to let me know about it./I wonder if there was anyone who didn't know". (II.p. 407)

107. II. p. 408.

108. I.iii. p. 396.

109. Cf "For everybody said so, all our friends/They all were sure our feelings would relate/so closely! I myself can hardly understand". (Poems and Plays, pp. 20-21)

110. II. p. 417.

111. II. p. 420.

112. For Nietzsche it is the beastly sexual passion which plunges man into marriage "I have a question for thee alone, my brother ... Thou art young and desirest child and marriage. But I ask thee, Art thou a man that may desire a child? Art thou victor, self-subduer, master of thy senses, and of thy virtues? ... Or speak the beast and blind need in thy desire?" ("Of Child and Marriage") in Thus Spake Zarathustra, translated by A. Tille, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, n.d., p. 61.)

113. II. p. 410.

114. I.i. p. 370.

115. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of Eliot's Plays, p. 195.

116. For the impression which Tristan und Isolde had on Eliot, see Lyndall Gordon, op. cit., p. 27.

117. Examples are the carbuncular young man and the typist; Lil and Albert in The Waste Land (see Poems and Plays, pp. 68,66); or the honeymooners in "Lune de Miel" (Poems and Plays, p. 48).

118. I.ii. p. 380.

119. The ass itself is symbolic of lust and concupiscence (see Supra, p.295

120. See Martin Browne, The Making of Eliot's plays, pp. 173-4.

121. I.i. p. 365.

122. I.i. pp. 364-5.

123. J. G. Frazer, The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, I, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London (1933-6), 60-61.

124. Conrad Aiken "King Bolo and Others" in T. S. Eliot: A Symposium, edited by Richard March and Tambimattu, Editions Poetry London, 1948. p. 20.

125. Cf Eliot's letter to Richard Cobden-Sanderson, a private publisher who introduced him to Lady Rothermere, a generous subsidizer of The Criterion, dated 21 November 1930; Eliot declined an invitation to a cocktail party, with a discourse on the cocktail, (See Alexander Sackton, The T. S. Eliot Collection of the University of Texas at Austin, Humanities Research Center, 1975, p. 213).

126. Compare also the impact of cocktails upon the sexual attraction of women towards men as is apparent from the remarks given to B. Kaghan in The Confidential Clerk (see Supra, p. 147).

127. I.i. p. 286.

128. I.i. p. 369.

129. I.i. p. 368.

130. The Golden Ass, p. 44.

131. Eliot's interest in this Canto is explained by his fascination with the way the lewd people accept the torment in order to purge themselves of their lusts: "In this Canto the lustful are purged in flame . . . In purgatory the torment of flame is deliberat and consciously accepted by the penitent." ("Dante" in Selected Essays, p. 255) For I. A. Richards, the relevance of Canto XXVI of Dante's "Purgatory" to the whole of Eliot's work "must be insisted upon". It illuminates his persistent concern with sex, the problem of our generation, as religion was the problem of the last." (Principles of Literary Criticism, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1950, p. 292.)

132. ll. 75-76. References to The Divine Comedy are from the edition translated by H. F. Cary, Frederick Warne & Co., London, n.d.

133. "A Discourse on Magic" in The Works of Apuleius, George Bell & Sons, London, 1902, p. 249.

134. I.i. pp. 353-4.

135. I.i. pp. 354-5.

136. "The association of man and woman
In daunsinge, signifying matrimonie-
A dignified and commodious sacrament.
Two and two, necessarye coniunction,
Holding eche other by the hand on the arm
Whiche betokeneth concorde:
("East Coker" in Poems and Plays, pp. 177-8)

137. The Golden Ass, pp. 170-171.

138. I.ii. p. 379

139. I.ii. p. 380

140. III. p. 434.

141. III. p. 434

142. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of Eliot's Plays, p. 226.

143. Poems and Plays, p. 173.

144. Martin Browne, The Making of T. S. Eliot's plays, p. 226.

145. III. p. 434.

146. Poems and Plays, p. 182.

147. II. p. 413.

148. The Golden Ass, p. 243.

149. II. p. 414

150. II. p. 419

151. Poems and Plays, p. 18

152. II. p. 413

153. II. p. 414

154. Poems and Plays, p. 182.

155. For Maritain's view, see Adrien Dansette, op. cit., II, 319.

156. Poems and Plays, p. 91.

157. See Infra, p. 322.

158. Poems and Plays, pp. 91-2.

159. See Supra, p. 285.

160. W. Warburton, op. cit., I, 380-81.

161. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p.227.

162. J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion (abridged edition) The Macmillan Press Ltd, London & Basingstoke, 1978(first published in 1922), p.501.

163. Ibid., pp. 620-21.

164. III. p. 428.

165. III. p. 428.

166. III. p. 429.

167. III. p. 429.

168. H. Hammerschmidt suggests that Sir Henry and Alex are behind the death of Celia and the Christian converts in Kinkanja: "Could Alex in Kinkanja...have witnessed Celia's cruel death with diabolical satisfaction? Could he in addition have been instruemental in Celia's undoing? It is significant that Julia refers to Alex's journey to Kinkanja as 'a mysterious expedition'...we have every reason to believe that Alex to the party of those vicious foreigners who have inflamed the heathens of Kinkanja by telling them 'That the slaughter of monkeys has put a curse on them/ Which can only be removed by slaughtering the Christians' " ("The role of the Guardians in T.S. Eliot's The Cocktail Party", Modern Drama, 24 (1981), 58.

169. III. p. 429.

170. III. p. 436.

171. III. p. 436.

172. Before Homer, the term "daemon" was equivalent to theos. In the post-Homeric period, a daemon was generally held to be a spiritual being inferior to a god. The daemon was considered a devil when Plato's pupil Xenocrates divided the good gods from the bad daemons and ascribed all the evils of the gods to the daemons(see J.B. Russell, The Devil, Cornell University Press, London, 1977, p. 142.

173. I. ii. p. 383.

174. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p. 200.

175. Quoted in Ibid., p. 184.

176. According to Plato to whom Apulieus refers, a particular daemon is assigned to every man, "to be a witness and a guardian of his conduct in life, who, without being visible to any one, is always present, and is an overseer not only of his actions, but even of his thoughts. But when life is finished, the soul has to return to its judges, then the daemon who has presided over it immediately seizes, and leads it as his charge to judgement, and is there present with it while it pleads its cause; and censures it if it is guilty of any untruthfulness." (Ap uleius, "The God of Socrates",in The Works of Apuleius, George Bell & Sons, London, 1902, p. 365.

177. Apuleius, "The God of Socrates", in op. cit., pp. 366-67.

178. See, e.g. Celia who calls Sir Henry the devil, and his way of influencing Edward by "the Devil's method"(I.ii. p. 377). Again she tries to convince Edward that Sir Henry "must be the devil ! He must have bewitched you"(I.ii. p. 377). Lavinia, too, does not shrink from asking Sir Henry openly:"Are you a devil/ Or merely a lunatic practical joker?"(II.p. 406).

179. See Supra, p. 284.

180. II. p. 422.

181. The Golden Ass, p. 231.

182. J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris, II, 120.

183. Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, p. 203.

184. The Golden Ass, p. 241.

185. See A.D. Nock, Conversion, at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1933, p. 152.

186. See R.E. Witt, op. cit., pp. 243, 246-7.

187. Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, p. 131.

188. J.Gwyn Griffith, ed. De Iside et Osiride, p. 501.

189. Quoted in Martin Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's plays, p. 187.

190. II . p. 422.

191. Gerald Massey, op. cit., II, 737.

192. II. p. 422.

193. II. p. 418.

194. II. p. 421.

195. Poems and Plays, p. 33.

196. "Complainte de la Lune en province" in Modern French Verse, an anthology with an introduction by P. Mansell Jones, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1957. pp. 101-102.

APPENDIX

A Descriptive Analysis of the Drafts of The Confidential Clerk in the Hayward Bequest, King's College, Cambridge, England.

John Davy Hayward (1905-1965) was an undergraduate at King's College, Cambridge, 1923-7. Although he was crippled by muscular dystrophy, he became an active man of letters in London: editor, anthologist, critic and biographer. His edition of Rochester appeared while he was still an undergraduate (1926), and was followed by editions of Donne (1929) and Swift (1934). He was often consulted by writers about their work, and was a great friend of T.S. Eliot, who shared a flat with him from 1948 to 1957, when Eliot married Valerie Fletcher, his secretary in Faber and Faber. For many years Eliot systematically gave Hayward groups of manuscripts and typescripts, and all printed editions. In 1965, Hayward bequeated to King's College his T.S. Eliot material which comprises manuscripts and typescripts of poems, prose and dramatic works, some letters from and to Eliot by various correspondents, material by others relating to Eliot and his work, books from Eliot's library, printed works by Eliot, press cuttings, programmes and critical works on Eliot.

Of all the plays of T.S. Eliot, The Confidential Clerk has the most voluminous draft material in the Hayward Bequest.[1] There are nine versions of the play, some of which do not contain the whole text. The nine versions designated by Eliot are: the Ur-Clerk, the "First Draft", the "Second Rough", the "Second Draft", the "Third Rough", the "Third Draft", the "Final Text", the "Acting Version", and finally the "Author's Copy".[2] Hayward collected such material, put it in order and had it bound,[3] together with letters Eliot received from Martin Browne, who directed Eliot's plays, and from Henry Sherek who produced the last three plays: The Cocktail Party, The Confidential Clerk and The Elder Statesman. Hayward classified the draft material of The Confidential Clerk chronologically as follows: Ur-Clerk, whose typescript is bound

in one volume, is given the class number D8. The top copies of the "First Draft", the "Second Rough", the "Second Draft", the "Third Rough", the "Third Draft", and the "Final Text", are all bound in one volume under the class number D9. The drafts in 'rough forms' have no carbon copies. The carbon copies of the other forms, described as "redundant" on attached slips by Hayward, are kept unbound in a file box which bears the class number D10. The "Acting Version" and the "Author's Copy" are classed under D11 and D12 respectively.

The earliest typescript is designated by Eliot as Ur-Clerk on the analogy of Geothe's Ur-Faust. Martin Browne remarks that the designation is by John Hayward,[4] while the Librarian of King's College, Mr. Peter Croft, has kindly informed me that the title Ur-Clerk was Eliot's. Further, the use of "Ur" by Eliot before the first name of Kenneth Allott substantiates the contention that the designation is by Eliot.[5] On a small piece of unruled paper kept loose in the version of the "Third Draft", Eliot wrote a note in his hand to Allott, which reads as follows:

"UR-KENNETH"
PLEASE RE-READ ROUGH DRAFT OF
ACT I BEFORE READING THIS.

In view of this, it seems obvious that Eliot was so familiar with the German prefix "Ur" that the designation "UR-CLERK" is very likely his.

The text of the Ur-Clerk, which has a few manuscript corrections in Eliot's hand, fills 112 pages. The text is preceded by the title-page, the sketch plan of characters and the scenario, or the prose outline. They all occupy six pages which bring the whole typescript to a total of 118 pages. The first page bears the title Ur-Clerk. The cast list is on the second page. The

scenario fills the next three pages viz, 3,4,5. On page 6, there is the descriptive list of characters which is earlier than the preceding documents, as the list includes names which are either left out or altered in the cast list and the scenario. The version of Act I which fills forty-two pages is paginated in Eliot's hand. Act II and III are not paginated in the same way. Their pagination is in accordance with the page numbers of each scene. Act I and II are each in three scenes. Act II which is outlined in two scenes in the scenario is in fact in one continuous scene in the text.

The five pages devoted to the cast list, the scenario and the sketch plan of characters are watermarked "COLNE VALLEY, PARCHMENT, MADE AT CROXLEY". The first two scenes of Act I are typed on fine, flimsy sheets, with no watermarks. The third scene of Act I is typed on sheets watermarked as before. With the exception of one page of Act II (P7) which is typed on a sheet whose watermark is identical with that of the five pages mentioned above, the whole of Act II and III are typed on flimsy sheets. All appears to be top copies. No carbon copies are identified.

Apart from the fact that the typescript of the Ur-Clerk is a sole copy, the manuscript corrections are all by Eliot. This strengthens our contention that the original typescript was not subjected to the criticism of anyone until it had been retyped in the form of the "First Draft" which has carbon copies that were submitted to Hayward and Martin Browne.

The next typescript (D9) is the most voluminous of all. It contains the large number of versions which follow the Ur-Clerk. These are of vital importance with respect to the major changes from one draft to another. Hayward collected these drafts and

classified them according to each Act. Here is a brief description of the drafts which are bound in D9:

Act I includes the following versions:

a) The "First Draft": It is so called by Eliot whose designation "1st Dft TSE" is on the top margin of the first page of this draft. On the top margin there is also an addition sum in Eliot's hand, which refers to the number of pages in the Ur-Clerk as follows:

43
25
17
31
116

The draft which reveals some corrections in Eliot's hand, is in three scenes. It fills forty-four pages, followed by the author's notes for changes between the "First Draft" and "Second Rough".

b) The "Second Rough": Apparently this version is a sole copy, for it has no carbon copy in the file box (D10). The text which fills forty-two pages incorporates Hayward's and Eliot's manuscript remarks. On the top margin of the first page, Eliot wrote in his hand "Rough II". The designation "2nd Rough" by Eliot also appears on the top margin of the page where scene II begins.

c) The "Second Draft": It is so designated by Eliot. Like the "Second Rough", this version fills forty-two pages. The manuscript remarks are all by Eliot. No remarks are identified as Hayward's. Hayward's criticism of this version is made on the carbon copy in D10. Between this version and the following one, i.e. the "Third Rough" there are the author's notes for changes.

d) The "3rd Rough": It is so designated by Eliot on the top margin of the opening page. The text which fills twenty-two

pages is incomplete. It runs up to the beginning of the scene between Sir Claude and Colby which closes Act I. In addition to Hayward's and Eliot's manuscript remarks which appear on the text, some few suggestions, probably by Kenneth Allott whom Eliot asked to re-read,[6] appear on the text.

e) Third Draft: Part of Act I only which when completed was submitted to Hayward for criticism as is evident from his designation "presented 27.3.53" on the top margin of the opening page. It incorporates pages of manuscript corrections relating to the implausible episodes and the characters' movement. The version is incomplete as it ends with the few lines that begin the scene between Sir Claude and Colby. At the end of the text, the piece of paper which inroporates Eliot's note to Allott is inserted. Following this piece of paper is another on which Eliot outlined briefly the notes for changes between the "Third Draft" and the "Final Text".

f) The "Final Text": On the top margin of the opening page, there is a pencilled note by Eliot: "Final Text as at 27.3.53". This date which indicates the time when this version had been completed, is deleted, and underneath it, there is another designation in ink, by Eliot too: "24.4.53",[7] i.e. a month later which suggests that Eliot made some further modification. On the top margin too, Hayward's manuscript annotation reads as follows: "Miss Fletcher's (Valerie Fletcher, the then Secretary of Eliot in Faber & Faber Ltd., and later his wife) typing with additions by T.S.E."[8] The term "additions" refers to the corrections by Eliot on the text.

Act II received less attention than Act I. It has three versions: the "First Draft", the "Second Rough" and the "Second Draft". The "First Draft" is the Secretary's typescript. No author's typescript relating to this version is preserved. Then follow the notes for changes between the "First Draft" and the "Second Rough". The "Second Rough" is the author's typescript, with manuscript corrections by him. The "Second Draft" incorporates pages with Eliot's additional corrections made in the Secretary's first and second fair copies of this version.

Act III has four versions: The "First Draft" which incorporates Eliot's corrections made in the Secretary's fair copy of this version. The "Second Rough" with manuscript corrections by Eliot. The "Second Draft" which incorporates the author's manuscript corrections, and finally the "Final Text". This final version is in the Secretary's fair copy which incorporates pages with the author's additional corrections made in the carbon copy.

In view of our review of the versions which D9 contains, it seems obvious that Act I has more drafts than either Act II or III; a process on which Eliot remarked. In a newspaper interview, he is reported as saying that "some scenes from the plays ..... required more drafts and some less".[9] Further, it is worth noting that there are three versions, each of which is in a sole copy. These are the Ur-Clerk, the "Second Rough" and the "Third Rough". Apparently, the term "rough" was assigned to the drafts which Eliot intended to be for his own use, and this may explain why they have no carbon copies.

D10 consists of a mass of typescripts preserved in a file-box. Most of them are carbon copies. They are described by Hayward on attached slips as "redundant". The attached slips

also show that the typing was done by Miss Valerie Fletcher. These copies were made, apparently, to be submitted to Eliot's advisors. The carbon copy of the "Second Draft", for example, incorporates Hayward's suggestions which are collected and typed on a sheet bound with the text of the Acting version (D11). Most of these suggestions deal with stylistic polishing. Meanwhile, Hayward was so impressed by the corrections Eliot made on certain pages of these drafts that he transferred them to the corresponding pages in D9, apparently for the purpose of comparison. On the back of the transferred pages, Hayward drew the binder's attention to bind them in the proper place, as is evident from his remark "Bind in this order", i.e. in the order of the page numbers of D9, which Hayward gave at the bottom of the volume. Examples are page 514 and 516 from Act III of the "Second Draft" in D10, which are bound each opposite the corresponding page of the "Second Draft" in D9.

Apart from the task of typing the draft material in D10, Miss Valerie Fletcher was sometimes entitled to copy the suggestions and corrections originally made by Eliot on the top copies in D9. Hayward's slip which is attached to the first draft of Act I in D10 reads as follows: "Typed from A (i.e. the first draft of Act I which is a top copy) by V.F. (Valerie Fletcher). Some marginal notes from A written in by V.F." Examples of Eliot's manuscript remarks written in by his secretary are: "1. Impossibilities? 2. Improbabilities? 3. Inconsistencies? 4. 2 short scenes, beginning of Act I and beginning of Act III - clumsy". These she wrote in ink beneath the cast list of the first draft. Other remarks she copied are: "This must be brought up-to-date" (I.i.7), and "socialist leanings? ... etc".

Here is a descriptive outline of the draft material in D10 with reference to Hayward's designation of them on the attached slips:

Act I:

- First Draft: It is a carbon copy typed by Miss Fletcher from Eliot's top copy in D9, and described by Hayward as above.
- Second Draft: It is typed by Miss Fletcher, described by Hayward as "Incomplete top and whole carbon ... Not marked ... discarded as redundant". It includes two only of the corrections made in the top copy in D9 (I.4 & ii.45). No fresh corrections appear except a typing error: "Lady EGGERSON" is corrected as "Lady ELIZABETH" (I.ii.31).
- Second Draft: Another carbon copy with Hayward's comments and Eliot's correction which are on the top copy in D9. On the attached slip, Hayward wrote: "T.S.E.'s notes from his top copy inserted. Discarded as redundant". On the top margin of page 1, Eliot wrote in his hand "Second Draft (TSE).
- Second Draft: A third copy described as follows: "2 scenes V.E.'s Typing. Top copy with a few corrections by TSE extracted and inserted in TSE/D., discarded as redundant".
- Third Draft: It is a carbon copy with no slip, and the sheets are loose, as they are not held together with a clip as in the case of the other copies in D10. J. Hayward's designation on the top margin of page 2 reads "TSE's carbon (discarded). pp. 1,3,20,24 with TSE's corrections are extracted and inserted in top copy".
- Final Text: described as "Fair copy typed by V.F. ..... incorporating TSE's additions and corrections (carbon duplicate) pp. 1,20,25,32 containing TSE's pencil corrections extracted and inserted in the top copy, discarded as redundant".
- Another copy of the Final Text described by Hayward as "Fair

copy: 'Final Text 24.4.53', V.F.'s typing (top copy), discarded as redundant".

Act II

- First Draft: a carbon copy, with Hayward's remarks. "No TSE's corrections", reads the slip, and "discarded as redundant".
- Second Draft: described as "2nd Draft, V.F.'s typing incorporating corrections in TSE's t/s (typescript in D9) and with a few further ink corrections by TSE, discarded as redundant". "Second Draft". It is a carbon copy, designated "2nd Draft", discarded as redundant.
- Final Text: A fair copy (V.F.'s typing) of Final Text 24.4.53 discarded as redundant.

Act III

- First Draft: There are three carbon copies relating to this version which are unmarked and described as "redundant". In addition, there is a top copy typed by V.F. and described as redundant, simply a fair copy of TSE's A (i.e. Eliot's copy in D9).
- Second Draft: described as "F.V.'s typing which is later than the TSE's top copy of 2nd Draft" in D9. This copy was subjected to Hayward's criticism. Hayward's suggestions and queries on this copy are outlined by Eliot in a piece of paper (p.381) inserted in D9.
- Final Text: described as "TSE typescript, discarded as redundant". There are pages (viz. 1, 9, 20) corrected by Eliot and transferred to the top copy in D9.

The Acting Version:

The "Acting Version" (D11) was used as the printer's copy text for the first edition (1954). It is a typescript duplicated from that of the Edinburgh Festival. The script is bound with a hard cover, without any indication of the firm which undertook the task of binding as in the case of D9. There is a label on the inside of the front cover showing that the task of duplication was assigned to: "May Hemery Ltd. Typewriting, Stenography, Translations, Duplicating Facsimile, Copying and Every Secretarial Service, 15 Princes Row, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1." On a pasteover fixed on the inside of the front cover, Hayward gives a brief description of the version: "With important TSE typescript paste-overs-acting script (duplicated typescript) used as printer's copy text for the first edition".

On the title-page (recto), there are pencilled remarks that throw light on the form of printing the first edition. These remarks read as follows: "Set plate? exactly as Cocktail Party". The next page is devoted to the copyright note. Then follows the page that includes the acknowledgement note in which Eliot expresses his indebtedness to Martin Browne and John Hayward for their contribution to the evolution of the play. The cast list is on the next page. The order of the characters' appearances is the same as in the printed edition, except that "Lucasta Angel" precedes B. Kaghan. But the author marks an arrow in pencil to indicate that B. Kaghan should make his appearance before Lucasta.

The leaves which incorporate the text are watermarked "STRATHESK". Act I and II each fills thirty-one pages, and Act III is in thirty-eight pages. The corrections made in this version are not slight. These are intended for the improvement of

theatricalities and stage-business, the achievement of clearness, the shortening of the text. As there was no time for retyping the "Acting Script" in a subsequent version, the modified speeches are typed on paste-overs fixed on the original corresponding speeches.

At the end of the text of the acting script, the following items are inserted:

(A) J. Hayward's notes referring to the "First Draft" of Act I, II and III.

These notes, made on separate sheets, are concerned with various points of weakness, such as inconsistencies, implausible events and unmotivated actions, the fortuitousness of entrances and exits. These notes of Hayward were carefully considered by Eliot before writing the "Second Rough" where he nearly abided by every suggestion.

(B) Following Hayward's notes on the "First Draft" are his on the "Second Draft" which he wrote on a piece of paper. These notes are concerned with the clearness of certain incidents for the audience, such as "Claude should tell Eggerson (and so audience) that he is going to tell Colby that he is his father". Similarly, Hayward advises Eliot to "make it a little clearer at beginning of scene between Claude & Colby that Claude has revealed his fatherhood". Hayward's notes are concerned as well with what appears to be implausible and unmotivated, such as his query "Why has Claude delayed so long to disclose the relationship - Why was there need for it to be concealed?". The relationship to which Hayward refers is related to Sir Claude's paternal claim to Colby of which he is unaware in this version until Sir Claude reveals it to him in the closing scene of Act I.

The other incident which Hayward noted as implausible is Colby's mother problem: "I don't at the moment find the dead sister and the changeling device plausible enough."

(C) The next item inserted in D11 is Martin Browne's letter to Eliot (1 .3.53) which throws light on his assistance in making Lady Elizabeth's return from her medical trip to Switzerland a surprising but plausible one. In his letter, Browne recounts that he went to the Air terminal of B.O.A.C. where Lady Elizabeth would come back from Zurich and the arrival-time at Northolt. In addition, Browne had been to the Southern Region Continental Enquiry office to check the arrival-times by train at Victoria. He found that the most suitable one is "3.5 p.m." at Victoria which "seems surprising". By the end of his letter, he exhorts Eliot to "get it into a plausible form", adding that he cannot "make up the telephone conversation till I know which of the alternatives you propose to use".

(D) Another letter by Martin Browne to Eliot follows the preceding one. It is dated 13.8.53 in which he advises the author to effect certain cuts and modifications which were stimulated by the rehearsal that began on 27.7.53.[10] Most of the cuts he suggested are in the Eggerson of Act III. Also, he advised Eliot to omit the "two Babies Passage" in Act III. For the purpose of clearness, Browne wanted Eliot to leave out the "creamer" in B. Kaghan's entrance speech in Act II, when he burst in on Lucasta and Colby in the latter's new flat. The lines in which the "creamer" is mentioned were first introduced in the "Second Rough":

B. Kaghan Enter B. Kaghan,

To see the new flat. And to hang up the

creamer

As we say in France[11]

The reason for Browne's insistence on the omission of these lines, as he explains, is because Kaghan's player, Peter Jones, has been "worried about that creamer", as "he is sure none in the audience will know what it means - and I expect he's right! Does it matter?" In fact, it did not matter to Eliot for he dropped it in the Acting script. However, Eliot was unable to put into effect two suggestions with which Browne's letter closes. First, to modify B. Kaghan's first entrance and his announcement of Lucasta's arrival. According to Browne, the actor finds some difficulty about this entrance because it "seems too like the compere announcing the next turn on the halls!" Second, he wondered if Colby could be given a line of greeting to Kaghan before he starts talking about Lucasta.

(E) The Synopsis for the Edinburgh Festival Programme drafted by Martin Browne and re-drafted by John Hayward. Browne's synopsis is drafted in his hand, in a letter dated Easter Day 1953, sent to Eliot from Dorchester in Dorset where the Brownes were spending the Easter holiday.

(F) The last two items inserted in the text of the "Acting script" are Henry Sherek's letter to Eliot and his greeting telegram. In the letter which is dated 10.4.53, Sherek informs Eliot that he is trying to reach the star in preparation for the production. In the Greetings telegram, postmarked 16.9.53, Sherek, who presented the play at the Lyceum Theatre between 25.8.53 and 5.9.53, thanks Eliot for his "really lovely play".

The Author's Script (D12)

Like the "Acting Script", the Author's Script is duplicated from the typescript of the Edinburgh Festival. Like the "Acting

Script" too, the text fills the same number of pages with the same catch-word, and the leaves used are watermarked "STRATHESK". However, the corrections made in the Author's Script are earlier, and they all find their way into the Acting Script. Hence, Hayward seems to have made a mistake in classifying the Author's Script under D12, a classification which makes it posterior to the Acting Script. Apparently, they ought to be classified in the reverse order, i.e. D11 should be assigned to the Author's Script, and D12 to the Acting Script. However, Hayward might have supposed that the Author's Script has nothing to do with the evolution of the play, just as the "Page Proofs of the First Printing" and the "B.B.C. Script as transmitted on Third Programme 26 and 28 Dec. 1954" which are classified as D13 and D14 respectively. Yet, the changes Eliot makes in the Author's Script are essential to the last stage of the play's evolution. For example, the modifications suggested by Browne in his letter of 13.8.53, are put into practice by Eliot in the "Author's Script". The revision of B. Kaghan's entrance, which, according to Browne, is "like the compere announcing the next turn on the halls!" is tried on a piece of ruled paper torn out from a pad notebook which is pasted on a sheet and inserted after the title-page leaf. The modified version of B.Kaghan's entrance typed on a flimsy sheet and inserted between page 8 and 9 of Act I has found its way into the "Acting Script". In addition, Eliot made other corrections to which D11 adheres. These corrections are anticipated by the pencilled remarks on the title-page, such as "Lines for Lady E. I.17", "Lines for Claude I,8" and "Guzzard-line on Act III p.12". These remarks indicate the additions which are meant to enhance the characters and to make them busy on the stage. Further, at this stage of the evolution of the play, Eliot was wrestling with Colby's religious vocation

which according to him, "appears merely a subterfuge for livelihood", and also Eggerson's desire for Colby's vocation is not plausible. In this version, Eliot tried to amend these weaknesses, and the corrections made are typed on paste-overs and fixed on the corresponding speeches in the "Acting Script" (III.p.36). Some manuscript corrections by Eliot in D12 are copied by Miss Fletcher in D11, such as Sir Claude's "You'll join me in my study" which is deleted and beneath it, the alternative "I'll rejoin you" is written (D11 and D12, I.p.8). However, there are a few exceptions. Whereas Eggerson's speech, which is a reflection on the contrast between Lady Elizabeth's habit of buying houses abroad, and forgetting about them, and Eggerson's house in Joshua Park, which he bought on mortgage, is deleted in D12 (I.p.16), D11 retains it (I.p.16). The same thing applies to four lines in Eggerson's speech about Lady Elizabeth's oddities (I.p.16). D11 incorporates some other corrections which were stimulated by the printing of the first edition. These corrections are not in D12. Examples are the deletion of Eggerson's allusion to Tennyson as the poet who wrote about kind hearts and noble blood in D11 (I.p.16); the omission of B. Kaghan's lines which allude to the "creamer" in D11 (II.p.13). These lines are only bracketed in D12. The conclusion has also acquired its final form in D11, for it is typed on paste-overs (III.p.37). On the other hand, D12 shows Eliot's attempt to produce an impressive ending, as is apparent from the two pages with alternative concluding speeches which are inserted between page 37 and page 38 of Act III.

In terms of our description of the draft material, one final word ought to be registered here. Unlike other writers, say for example E.M. Forster, Eliot was systematic in drafting his dramatic works. He wrote steadily version by version, revising each, and

bringing the whole text to its final shape. It was fortunate that Eliot used to compose his works on the typewriter, an activity which contributed to the systematic method of revisions and the exact sequence of drafts. It is true that literary composition, according to Eliot, is a painful process, but it is by no means so complicated as that of Forster whose irregularity in writing is behind the complications which he faced. For example, he "did not", remarks the editor of the MSS. of A Passage to India, "write his way steadily through a first draft, revise this systematically, produce a second draft, have this typed, revise the typescript, and so on".[12] One further advantage of Eliot's method of composition is his designation of the drafts which made their classification and compilation an easy task for Hayward to undertake.

NOTES

1. See Supra, p.29 n.81.

2. Two versions are not noted by Martin Browne. These are the "Final Text" and the "Author's copy". See the list of MSS in Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p.xiv

3. The binding firm which undertook the task is "Hiscox London" as is evidenced by the label on the hard cover.

4. Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays. p.250

5. It should be noted that Allott's connection with Eliot started earlier, apparently when Eliot was running the editorialship of The Criterion. Two poems by Allott are reviewed in Volume 16 of that periodical (pp.61-2). Herbert Howarth remarks that Eliot discovered Allot in January 1930 "when he published Auden's Charade "Paid on Both Sides". (see Herbert Howarth, op.cit.p.297)

6. See Supra , p. 337.

7. "Final Text", I.p.1 in D9, p.223

8. Ibid

9. Quoted in Robert L. Beare, "Notes on the Text of T.S. Eliot", Studies in Bibliography, 9, (1957), 22.

10. For this date, see Browne, The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays, p.286

11. "Second Rough", II.p.14 in D9, p.307. "To hang up the crèamer" is translated from the commonly used French expression: "Pendre la cremaillere" which means "to give a house warming party" (Harrap's New Standard French and English Dictionary, vol II. Revised and edited by R.P.L.Ledésert and Margaret Ledésert.

12. Oliver Stallybrass, The Manuscripts of A Passage to India, Edward Arnold, London, 1978, p.xi.

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- D10 The Confidential Clerk: "Duplicates, author's carbons, secretary's typescripts & C." Various drafts noted by John Hayward on attached slips-described by him as redundant.

- D11 The Confidential Clerk: Acting edition duplicated from typescript, ms.& typescript corrections, used as printer's copy for first edition.

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